

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXIV.

July 1907.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world ; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

Calcutta :

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

**Art. I.—FROM PEKIN TO SIKHIM, THROUGH
GOBI AND TIBET.**

CHAPTER IX.

ACROSS THE ZAIDAM AND THE TIBETAN PLATEAU.

THE crossing of the dry salt lake, which forms the centre of the Zaidam depression, was most difficult, and I understand that it is not readily undertaken even with fresh animals. We started on the morning of July 25th, but under rather bad conditions, for, as I have said, our animals had not found good pasturage during the two preceding days, and the water that we had met with had been of worse than inferior quality. The men were expecting to encounter the most appalling disasters on the way, and they handled their driving whips without conviction. Evidently the great open space lying before us terrified them, and I was not entirely free from anxiety myself, for, according to the information I had gathered from the natives I had questioned at

our recent camps, there lay on the other side of the great salt crust stretches of softer mud, into which a carelessly conducted caravan might easily sink. I placed myself, therefore, at the head of the column, when, having accomplished the descent of the lake slope, which brought us to a level 600 feet lower than that which we had left, we reached the sand dunes immediately encircling the bed of the lake. After crossing these dunes we came upon a slough of mud and salt water, which, however, it was easy to cross by moving from one hardened spot to another. On all sides holes yawned in the mud. It was impossible to determine their depth but a sounding of 20 feet failed, in many cases, to, reach the bottom. Some of these swamps, the most treacherous, are covered by a thin surface of dry mud, which gives way at once under the lightest weight, It is none the less easy to discover them, owing to the fact that they are always slightly lower than the really hard ground. They are usually one or two feet across at the top, and never more than three.

Having crossed the swamps we reached a stretch of dry mud with an even surface, on which the animals could proceed with perfect ease. After some time we came upon the tracks of a large flock of sheep, which had evidently crossed the lake but a short time before us, for the carcases of the victims, left behind by the flock, were not yet decomposed. We were surprised to think that sheep should have accomplished this difficult crossing, which their slow habits must render still more dangerous, without any grass to sustain life, but the fact only proves once more what many explorers have maintained, namely that of all the beasts capable of enduring the terrible hardships of life in Tibet the sheep offers the greatest resistance and endurance. The

discovery of these tracks proved very useful to us, for I decided to follow them, thereby removing all doubts as to our course and avoiding all danger, as the animals, under the guidance of the Mongols as well as of their own instinct, had carefully avoided those places where the soft mud would have impeded their course. We were congratulating ourselves on the ease of the journey hitherto so much dreaded, when we suddenly noticed a change in the surface of the dry mud, which was now covered with flakes of hard crisp salt, lying edgewise and like the blades of a knife in many places, so that our progress suddenly became extremely laborious. The camels' feet were soon bleeding, and the mules and donkeys followed their example, for the depth of their hoofs could not protect them when they slipped on the smooth surface of the salt. In a very short time the camels could hardly drag themselves along. The poor creatures were a pitiable sight. They peered with terror into this new ground, sniffed at it, and refused to proceed further across country which hurt them so cruelly.

Nevertheless, we were obliged to go on and reach the other side, so I gave the strictest orders that they were to be urged forward.

At night fall the caravan was divided into two parts, and of course the animals had only a meagre supply of peas to eat. We had a little water, but only for the men. A cold, moonless night fell upon the improvised camp, where man and beast strove to find rest among the broken blades of salt.

At four o'clock next morning all were astir, for none had closed their eyes a moment, and we began to sweep the horizon in hope of discovering the rest of the caravan. I was apprehensive about it, for I reflected

that if they had continued their journey during the night, in the hope of rejoining us, they must certainly have lost their way, as they had no landmark of any sort. Towards six o'clock, by the help of my field glasses I espied Hia and the camels following upon our tracks, and so soon as they had rejoined us and had, like the others, tried to appease their hunger with a little roasted millet, we continued our journey.

After a little while we noticed, on our right, a basin of pure salt which shone with dazzling whiteness. The Mongols have named it Dohoson nor, and it may be called the keystone of the great dome of the Zaidam lake. Its shape is irregular, and variable too, to judge by its borders. Its length and breadth would amount to five or six hundred yards at most. Almost immediately after leaving Dohoson nor we came upon the dry mud again, but this time without the blades of salt. But the mud was soon exchanged for a horrible mixture of earth, salt, and water, involving risk and danger to our progress, for it was impossible to avoid frequent falls into the quagmires among which we moved. Evidently this second part of the Zaidam Lake receives large quantities of water in the rainy season and when the snows melt. This opinion was still further confirmed when we reached river-beds hollowed out in the mud, and all sloping towards Dohoson nor. They were dry at this season, for the spongy soil absorbed what small amount of water they might have held.

At length, after struggling through the mud for some hours, we caught sight of a row of tall reeds in front of us. We knew that water could not be far away and that we should now be able to let our beasts rest. However, we had still to cover several miles southwards before we came upon the water in little rivers, where

we were able to pitch our tents on a favourable camping ground, to the great joy of the whole caravan. The name of the spot was Tassara, the rivers belong to a certain river and lake system which the Mongols call Tadjinar, whose waters flow towards the north, especially towards Dohoson nor which the water only reaches at certain seasons of the year.

Thus we had crossed Zaidam in two days and, on the whole, without very great difficulty. ..We had only had to leave two animals behind and the others would recover after a thorough rest. According to my calculations we had covered a distance of some 50 miles between Trsongin and Tassara, including certain zigzags in the course, without either water or grass.. Considering that the animals had hardly had anything to eat since they left the king of Zaidam's camp, I think their endurance was indeed admirable.

After a day's rest we were able to resume our journey southward, on a flat clay soil which could easily bear the weight of the whole caravan. Here and there we caught sight of troops of ponies feeding in perfect freedom far from the tents. This would tend to prove that the country is not so infested with robbers as it is reputed to be. Our shelter that evening was a tent inhabited only by two old women, but we could hardly snatch a moment's rest, on account of the millions of mosquitoes which attacked us all night in famished hordes. Even the animals could hardly bear their bites and they had to be closely guarded to prevent their breaking away in all directions, maddened by the inflammation of the sting.

On July 29th we were on the march again, in the same direction as before, now skirting the banks of the River Tadjinar, now working away from it on the

left. There was quite a considerable quantity of water in this river, considerable for that part of the country, about two feet in depth by twenty or twenty-five in width. The effect of this precious stream is very evident in the vast green plains, capable of feeding many flocks and herds, which rejoice the eye and form a curious contrast to the desolate white and yellow of the salt desert only a few dozen miles to the North.

The number of tents was growing considerably, but the poverty seemed to increase with the population. We had not yet seen such abject poverty laid bare in the broad light of day, even among the Mongols of the North, who are ranked among the most wretchedly destitute races.

The Tadjinar people are as little hospitable as they are rich and we could not persuade them to sell us a single morsel of meat, though we begged earnestly and eloquently for it. We were in sore need of it, not having tasted meat for three days, and such was our disappointment, that for the first time in the course of our journey I decided to treat the caravan to a bullock without the preliminary of obtaining the owner's permission to dispose of his goods. Accordingly a bullet from a carbine gave us an excellent dinner and a provision against famine, without exciting the opposition of the Mongols, which I had half expected. The proprietor uttered a cry, pretended to shed a few crocodile tears, and then retired with a smile upon his lips and a small ingot of silver in his hand.

It is worthy of notice that the inhabitants of the Tadjinar district are not good customers for Russian manufactures. With the idea of reducing our expenditure I made an attempt to sell some materials brought into Mongolia by Bouriat merchants. But my advances

were energetically repulsed, and I was informed that Russian cotton materials are inferior in quality to Chinese products, which, indeed, is true.

This is in truth a curious country. The southern part of Zaidam is an almost exact reproduction of the North, as regards aridity and desolation. The fertile strip of the Tadjinar district alone breaks the desolate monotony of the desert. The mountains which we were now to attempt were rather higher than those from which we had come, but the difference in appearance went no further. The mountains which stretched indefinitely before us from East to West are called by some Tolai, by others Torai. As a matter of fact they bear the generic name of the Naitchi Mountains.

This is the name of the country which stretches southwards from these lofty peaks. The Naitchi gol flowing into the Tadjinar is an important factor in the river system of this oasis and issues from a mountain range opposite to which we had come through gorges described by the Mongols as extremely difficult to cross. Pre-evalsky and Rockhill alone had attempted to follow their course for a certain distance, and they had both turned to the right and reached the populous valley where there are two encampments, Naitchi and Missuto, at a height of about 10,000 feet. My plan was to push on due south, following a tributary of the Naitchi, hitherto quite unexplored.

We had hardly entered the Naitchi Valley when our troubles began. Steep cliffs of loess rose on our right and left, the soil we trod was pure loess. There was no grass, not even roots for the animals, nor water, save in the river at the bottom of the ravine, and this river, which had cut its way deeply through a crumbling

soil, was not always easy of access. To crown all we were beset by positive clouds of mosquitoes, and in spite of all precautions, such as blocking the tent door with a mosquito net, it was impossible to enjoy a moment's rest. While taking the usual evening observations my hands were simply devoured in the space of five minutes. Mosquitoes at this height! The reader cannot be more surprised than we were, nor had we ever seen any creatures more desperate in their sanguinary work than the mosquitoes of Naitchi gol. The following day I noticed, for the first time, signs of disaffection among the caravan drivers. They had until then maintained perfect submission, or at least the appearance thereof, but, excited by stories of brigands, robbers, and cut throats, with which the Mongols had stored their minds, they suddenly changed their tone and assumed airs of mutiny. I first noticed it while on my usual rounds on the evening of August 1st. I was able to hear the men's conversation by standing close to their tent, though outside the shaft of light from their fire. They were more or less agreed upon the following points: firstly that I must be out of my mind to come to such atrocious countries when I might be living comfortably at Pekin; secondly that the instruments I used for reconnoitering were nothing worth, and finally that their best plan would be to vanish during the night and let us go on alone if we were absolutely set upon an expedition which must come to a bad end. I decided that the moment for showing myself had come, and suddenly made my appearance, which disconcerted them not a little. I informed them that I had overheard their designs and should therefore take all necessary precautions; to begin with I should have all the provisions brought to my tent. I pointed

out to them how mad it would be to attempt to retrace the journey we had made from Leantchou without a European at their head. They would inevitably fall a prey to the rapacious Mongols, and would at length be frozen to death in the attempt to cross a snowy pass. On the contrary, if they would faithfully accompany us they would earn such remuneration as would raise them to the rank of important people in their respective villages. With the object of distracting their attention and to teach them a salutary lesson I made them work all night at mending the pack-saddles, and I myself was obliged to spend much time in superintendence, which I should have infinitely preferred to enjoy comfortably stretched upon my camp bed. Even had we wished to do so we could not have followed the Naitchi Valley for long. We should have been obliged to cross from the right to the left bank, and that at a point where the tributary we intended to follow joined the Naitchi, the speed and volume of water being such that we could not have accomplished a crossing.

We pushed on due south and entered a gorge, the appearance of which gave us but little encouragement. High cliffs, worn by the water's action into steep peaks and sharp angles, frequently forced us to descend to the level of the river, only to toil up again over steep, rocky and dangerous slopes. This was most exhausting, and we were making very little headway, so, after ascertaining that the depth of the torrent was not more than three feet, I sent the whole caravan into the water and men and beasts went up the rapid stream. All went well for some few miles, and if our progress was slow it was at any rate sure, but unfortunately we came to a point where the walls of loess were so close together that one could scarcely see the sky between their rocky summits,

and the torrent rapidly increased in depth and swiftness. Nevertheless I led steadily on, struggling against the water with more or less success, until my mule missed its footing and dragged me back to join the rest of the caravan. Thus we were forced back to our climbing, the perpendicular aspect of the walls of rock being, as is frequently the case, much exaggerated by the steep height of the mountains above the level of the loess. It is surpassingly wonderful to me how the creatures managed it at all, even the mules, but especially the camels with their ridiculously long legs. It is no less wonderful that after a day of such terrific effort we should find a little grassy spot whereon to rest.

Our night's rest was in no way interrupted and for the first and last time I dispensed with the watch, feeling quite sure that our best safeguard lay in the difficulty of access to our encampment.

On resuming our march on the morning of August 2nd our hopes rose somewhat at the prospect of the way before us. The surface of the loess, which the water had not touched, seemed to present a firmer and safer footing. But within a mile, we were again disappointed, for we were suddenly confronted by a perpendicular wall projecting from a mountain and falling sheer into the water 150 feet below us. I must confess that even I was a little disconcerted at this sight, especially as there seemed to be no other way. The rain which had fallen during the night had swelled the torrent, an effectual barrier even before the rain, so we were forced to face the crossing of this arête or give up the journey in this direction altogether.

I consequently undertook to make a sort of cliff path by means of our pickaxes, choosing a spot where there was already a kind of ledge in the rock. This

work, which lasted several hours, was followed by another, no less toilsome, namely the passing and carrying of all the baggage. Then came the critical moment when the animals had to be led over the path. They were pushed, held up, and hauled over with ropes, and we managed it pretty well on the whole, save for one camel which slipped over the edge and was left hanging over the abyss unable to find any foothold for its hind legs. After many and painful attempts we were able to haul it up again, but the poor creature's skin was badly torn and we could make no use of it for some time.

We encamped, exhausted, immediately after this dangerous crossing, and that night Hia, one of my best drivers, fell over a precipice while attempting to recapture a camel which had strayed in the darkness.

The poor fellow was carried back to the tents and I was glad to find that no bones were broken. Nevertheless he lay in a state of coma for some time, for his head had struck against a stone in his fall.

On August 3rd we came out upon a wide valley lying parallel with the Naitchi-gol valley, which runs from east to west. We came into it about half way down, and it stretched away in both directions, a vast and desolate waste of country. It lay about 600 feet higher than the Naitchi valley and was more desolate, though a trained eye could distinguish patches of different colours in the very far distance which were in all probability tracts of grass.

In spite of firm soil and a good foothold we crawled along very slowly that day, both men and animals being completely exhausted.

However as we slowly journeyed on eastwards I was able to make a general plan of the valley, especially of the streams. They all, without exception, rise on the

southern ridges and flow due north until their course is abruptly turned by the ridges on the northern side of the valley. There they combine and form a river, dashing down the defile through which we had come with so much difficulty.

Many of these streams flowed through deep layers of loess in which no vegetation was possible. In the very few spots where a little grass had struggled into life a few kyangs were peacefully grazing. Though it seemed a cruel and all too easy sport to kill these graceful creatures, I decided to victimise one of them, with the object of giving some meat to the men and of economising our store of rice and flour.

At a distance of about 27 miles from the spot at which we had entered the valley we came to a ridge, which divides the streams into two different water systems.

The rivers still flow from south to north, but, instead of turning off eastwards at right angles, they flow towards the west, and on the evening of August 4th we encamped opposite to a gorge very like that which had brought us into the valley, though seemingly easier of access, and evidently leading into the Naitchi valley.

The next day was somewhat sensational, for we encountered a herd of wild yaks for the first time.

The first detachment came out right in front of us as we were peacefully making our way southwards up a little stream, and I had barely time to hide the caravan behind some rising ground. I was not anxious for this meeting, for yaks have a reputation for attacking camels and baggage mules.

These superb creatures were really a grand sight, as they passed quietly before us, in number about two

hundred, calm and majestic, sweeping the sand with their long black hair, with something both of strength and pride in their bearing.

They took about half an hour to file past us, and when they had almost disappeared behind the southern chain I could not resist the temptation of a shot and fired on the last of the herd. I hit him full in the chest, but not in a vital spot ; he did not fall, but, catching sight of us, came galloping towards us lashing his bushy black tail. A gulley in the loess checked his course for a moment and I lodged another bullet between his eyes which killed him instantaneously.

He was an immense creature. The thickness of the neck was perhaps the most remarkable point about him, the tough hide bore the marks of many blows from the horns of the other males in the herd. We cut off some of the meat and resumed our march. But we had not yet finished with the yaks, for a few miles farther on, in an absolutely exposed part of the country, we suddenly saw three enormous bulls, charging towards us with all the speed of their powerful, heavy gallop. I had often read in books of travel that a yak, if not mortally wounded, will sometimes charge its enemy furiously and with lowered head. But in this case the terrible creatures were attacking us even before we had seen them and our position was critical indeed. As I have said, there was no sheltering ridge to be seen, and we shuddered to think of the awful havoc the yaks would work among the heavily laden mules and the camels. Our only chance was to stop the brutes as soon as they should come within easy range. So I dismounted, and as our one chance of safety, shouldered my Mannlicher and rested the barrel on my wife's shoulder. She did not stir until the shot was fired, and to my great relief

I saw the leader fall on his knees and roll heavily over. I was about to fire on the two survivors when I saw them stop, sniff round the body of their dead comrade, and, turning back in the direction from which they had come, flee with all speed from the spot.

We soon found that the 'animal' I had just killed was still huger than the yak I had shot in the morning. My bullet had caught him just between the eyes. We only cut off his tail as a trophy, and left him to the vultures of the desert.

By pushing steadily on we had reached what I may call a second story in this remarkable valley. We had climbed about 1,500 feet in one day, almost without noticing the rise, so easy was the gradient. I did not wish to continue the journey eastwards, for it would have led us too far away from our course, besides covering the track of other explorers ; so I decided to bend to the south by a snow-covered pass, crossing the source of a glacier.

Though not in itself very alarming, this pass proved too much for two of the caravan men, who were unable to keep up with us, though they were both riding mules. We were thus obliged to encamp in a place without a blade of grass or a drop of water, for fear of losing these two men altogether. This was the more likely as a strong wind was blowing which would soon have covered the faint track which the caravan might have made in its passage over a hard soil.

Grass! grass, and rest! It was a crying need. Grass for the exhausted mules, and rest for the hard-worked men. But the question was where to find grass. All around us was a brown and sterile soil ; as far as the eye could reach the great undulating waste

was barren and inhospitable. I was beginning to despair when, on the morning of August 7th as I was anxiously scanning the horizon through my field glasses, I saw several herds of antelopes, all making for a little dip on the southern mountain line a few miles away. This gave me the clue for which we yearned; the fact of so many animals all making for the same place pointed to there being water and pasturage to be found there.

We set out forthwith, but found we had to face a rocky climb of 900 feet before we could gain the pass, though, as I have said, it seemed but a mere dip in the chain when viewed from below. But we were repaid for our trouble by the superb view we now had of the mountains we had crossed the day before, on the southern side of the huge valley. The snowy peaks stood out dazzlingly bright in the sunshine and several of them now gave me an impression of much greater height than I had at first attributed to them. There was something grand and stupendous in the very desolation of the scene. We gazed upon it for a long time, in rapt admiration, yet there were still greater splendours awaiting us in the south.

I had been right in my judgment; for the descent from the pass brought us into a gently sloping valley, the sides of which were covered with grass. Judging from the enormous number of bones which lay strewn about, bones of yak, antelope, and ovis ammon, it was the *rendezvous* of all the dwellers in that desolate land, who evidently came there to find pasture when there was none elsewhere, often dying there from the hardships they had undergone. Considering what the winter must be at a level of 15,000 feet it is astonishing that any life survives.

It was an oasis indeed for people who had seen no grass, nor even a semblance of green, for days. The packmules did not even wait to be relieved of their burdens before they started grazing.

It was high time that they should find some nourishing food. We could not give them enough peas to make up for the want of grass, and five of these strong creatures were already stretched stark and stiff upon the road behind us.

We now gave ourselves up to the sheer delight of a thorough rest. I gave orders that the tents should be put up for a two days' halt among the pastures. Yaks and antelopes galloped past on every side and kyangs, full of curiosity, came to graze with our mules.

It was this very curiosity, I may say familiarity, on the part of these kyangs, or wild asses, which brought about the disappearance and subsequent loss of two of our best mules. I had given strict orders that the mules should be fettered to prevent any chance of escape, but the men, who were convinced that the creatures were too weary to dream of escaping, neglected my orders and allowed them to graze at large.

It was doubtless during the night that a company of kyangs came among our animals, and I suppose it was the sight of these fiery creatures in the joy of their liberty which decided two of our mules to join them in their life of risk and adventure.

I was obliged to send some of the caravan drivers in pursuit of the wanderers, and thus the punishment of working during a whole day of rest came upon the very men who had been guilty of such unpardonable negligence and disobedience. But this was not the end of the adventure. I had hoped to see the men back by mid-day, or, at the latest, by sundown, but I was to be

disappointed. As they had not returned by ten o'clock at night I decided to go out in search of them. My mule was saddled, I wrapped a thick cloak round me and set out, with our faithful dog Shi-Shi, whose keen scent had more than once been requisitioned for the caravan. But I had hardly started when a fearful storm broke over us, a storm of such hail and snow that every vestige of a trace was obliterated and search would have been futile. So I returned to the tents as best I could to await the following morning.

Next day, to our great relief, we could distinguish two dark figures coming towards us across the white field of freshly fallen snow. They were the two lost men, who had seen the camp from afar and were trying to rejoin us. The mules were lost for good and all. We were able to trace their shoe prints for about ten miles, intermixed with the tracks of the kyangs, but then they were lost upon a hard surface which had retained no impression. It was useless to make any further attempts. The only wise course was to push on.

From our comfortable camp we left the valley by an easy descent and reached the wide plain which lay to the south. From there I could see that the valley we had just left was only one among many others of the same shape. But while the others were barren ours was watered by a little stream which never ran dry.

As we advanced we began to realize the nature of the plain and its dangers. On all sides of us were bogs, pools of water and stretches of grass. For two or three hundred yards one could walk safely on firm soil, then suddenly one's feet would sink into soft, deep mud, out of which it was most difficult to struggle.

There were rivers flowing here and there, which would lose themselves in the sand and suddenly reappear

a little way off. This indicated the presence of many streams, some with a visible course and others subterranean.

There was no lack of game, from the little straight-horned antelope to the largest yak. But there was no trace of human habitation, no vestige even of human existence. This was a tract of country quite off the beaten caravan track, and the abundance of game proved that the foot of man never trod this inhospitable soil.

We spent several days crossing this great plain, travelling first south-south-west, then west by south. An abundance of water, of grass and of game rejoiced our hearts and we should have been quite happy had it not been for the quagmires from which we could not altogether escape. Some of them were so extraordinarily concealed that the most experienced eye could not detect them. They occasioned many a fall and indescribable confusion, especially when we had to cross two rivers, presumably tributaries of the Yangtse Kiang, judging by the direction in which they were flowing. Welby, the English explorer, often camped upon the banks of the second of these rivers when he was crossing North Tibet between Kashmir and China. The lake scenery here was often very charming. Grassy dunes framed the sheets of water and numbers of wild duck rested on the still surface. Of these I made a regular massacre, for a wild duck cooked in its own gravy, served with rice and fried potatoes is the Tibetan equivalent for a dainty supper at Paillard's! Unfortunately these sumptuous feasts are of rare occurrence, and the menu consists as a rule of boiled rice, potatoes, millet, and occasionally a slice of grilled yak. When it was very cold we used to take a glass of Chinese wine to warm us, and personally I have never experienced the ill-effects

which certain explorers attribute to brandy taken at high altitudes.

I recollect how one day, when I was on in front of the caravan, I suddenly came upon a grassy place, behind a sheltering bank of sand dunes, where two great yaks were peacefully feeding. The nearer of the two was but 30 yards away and I quickly shouldered my rifle without even dismounting. The bullet hit the spine of the first animal, and the second fled away. Approaching then with my revolver I fired at the beast's head, at which it merely shook its mane. It was wounded in six places before it expired: surely a proof of extraordinary vitality.

This journey of a few days' duration across an almost level country was one of the pleasantest parts of the expedition. But unfortunately it did not last long, and we were to face fresh difficulties only a few days later.

On August 12th we left a defile in which we had found plenty of grass, growing indeed two feet high in some parts, though of an extremely coarse fibre. We emerged, by a pass 900 feet above the plain we had just left, upon a plateau where a curious effect was produced by the heaps of sand which stood out in sharp contrast against the darker soil beneath.

We crossed this new plateau in three days, covering a distance of about fifty miles in a south-south-westerly direction. We were occasionally on good soil, but much oftener on quicksand or horrible bogs. The last day was the worst, and we were obliged to desert a camel which had sunk in so deeply that we could not save it, especially as it manifested a complete and obstinate inertia in the whole matter. We crossed many streams, all flowing towards the south-east, and the

reader has by this time realized what is involved in the crossing of a Tibetan river with a mud bed. All the baggage has to be carried across, the men helping the animals. It is killing work and in this case it was aggravated by torrents of rain which had poured upon the caravan unceasingly for days, varied only by occasional showers of hail.

One difference between this plateau and that which we had crossed three days before was the practically total want of game. This phenomenon, at first inexplicable considering the abundance of grass and water, ceased to puzzle me when on August 13th, in the evening, I found that we were reaching the obviously beaten track of the pilgrim caravans that pass to and fro between Lhassa and Sining-fu. My suspicions were confirmed by remains of bivouacs, bits of cloth, an occasional old boot, and carcasses of horses and donkeys. One caravan must have passed quite lately, for the traces of its fires were still fresh.

The mountains which close in this plateau are pronouncedly red in colour and very much cut up by many valleys, each of them the source of a small river. They are called Dungbura, and run from east to west, or rather to south-west. We struck them at about $34^{\circ} 35'$. They are well known, and have a high repute among Chinese and Mongol pilgrims for the excellence of their vegetation. Prejevalski crossed them in 1873, but much to the west of our route.

Here again I had to give the exhausted caravan a day's rest. The men were beginning to show unmistakeable signs of fatigue. When a Chinaman throws himself on the ground and refuses to eat at the end of a march it means that he is fairly well tired out. I was sorry for the poor fellows, but I could do nothing to

assist them. Our only hope lay in pressing forward rapidly. We could only trust that the Tibetans of Lhassa and Shigatze would not block the way. If they did, very few of us would reach Kashmir, which would be our only alternative course.

Besides, my wife's plucky example might well enhearten them. She often shared my watch at night, and although by day she helped right and left she was still full of energy.

On one day of rest on the northern slopes of the Dungbura mountains the sun was kind, and we were able to dry the clothes and blankets which had been completely and continuously soaked during the previous week. We started again on August 15th at 6 A. M. The beasts set off at a good pace after their rest, but unfortunately did not keep it up long. We had to cross a lofty ridge whose summit consisted apparently of mud. Then to go round through defiles, climb steep points, struggle across swamps, and scale more muddy uplands, to reach at length another wide plain closed to the south by mountain chains similar to the one we had just negotiated.

The whole country seemed of the same pattern. A series of wide plains separated by mountains running in the same direction, each plain, as we moved southward, slightly more elevated than its predecessor. It was very monotonous.

We continued to follow the caravan road. I intended to leave it later, but so far we had seen no pilgrim caravan on the march and we did not want to miss the sight.

All along the road inscriptions in honour of Buddha were cut upon poor stones or upon projecting rocks. The fanatical superstition that has caused stupid

Mongols and Tibetans to set up these monuments is not unique. Is it not to be witnessed every day in some parts of Europe? There it has less excuse, since those who practise it live in the full sunshine of modern culture and civilisation.

August 16th was a great day for our little expedition, for we saw some human beings for the first time since we had left Zaidam and its Mongols.

We had scarcely begun one march, at about 8 A.M., when we suddenly perceived some riders cantering along over the sand of the great plain, carrying long sticks decked with flags of various colours.

They rode up to meet us, and alighted.

LESDAIN.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. II.—LAYS OF ANCIENT GREECE.

II.—THERMOPYLÆ.

TWIN Gods of the Eurotas, look on us as we bring
Our great and holy burden, the ashes of our king ;
To lay them in our city in honour and in peace
Amid the awestruck silence, the grateful tears, of Greece.
Lo, our returning legions fulfil their sacred trust, .
High in a golden vessel they bear the hero's dust
Who died a willing victim, obedient to the fates,
And saved us by his sacrifice at the immortal Gates.
Lift high the voice of wailing and shriek of women's woe,
Not such our wont in Sparta save when our kings lie low,
With clash of martial music and tramp of marching feet, .
For Lacedæmon's noblest the honour due and meet.
Leonidas the lion, with heart and voice we sing,
Our champion and defender, our leader and our king,
Who wrote the name of Sparta high on the roll of fame,
Calling on endless ages to keep it free from shame.
The summits of Taygetus glow in the fading light,
Fast o'er Messene's upland steals on the purple night,
As he comes home in triumph who kept our Spartan laws
And fell in foremost battle in freedom's holy cause.
Bright as the Spartan helmet, true as the Spartan blade,
His soul went down to Hades erect and undismayed,
Straight from the din of battle and shock of crossing spears
To rest in peaceful majesty a prince among his peers.
O for our own Tyrtaeus, to praise and praise aright
The wonder and the glory of that stupendous fight,
When fifteen score of Spartans held all the world at bay
Till they all died together on that most glorious day.

The Great King called his legions from Scythia's icy snows,
From where through lands of magic the ancient Indus flows,
From the wide plains sun-smitten where Tigris' waters roll,
From where strange stars lean earthward to light the southern pole:
From Lebanon's dark forests, from Ethiop's furthest sands,
From Parthia's rolling prairies, from the Hyrcanian strands,

From Sidon's swarming harbours, from the Arabian coast,
 He marshalled at Abydos that all-subduing host.
 They came with fierce hot faces, with hearts as cold as steel,
 With shield and spear and quiver, with shaft and sword and keel,
 To rase the name of Athens from off the scroll of fame,
 To scatter Sparta's ashes in dust and blood and flame.
 They bridged the foaming Hellespont across from shore to shore,
 They clove the solid Athos to make a way for war,
 As over leagues of pasture the flying locusts sweep,
 They covered all the mainland and darkened all the deep.
 Down through the plains of Thessaly they passed, none saying nay,
 The terror of their coming in every heart held sway ;
 The faint and feeble hearted were overcome with fear,
 Nor launched a flying arrow nor raised a single spear.

All Hellas met at Corinth, resolved to make a stand,
 The fleet at Artemisium, one slender force on land,
 Where the hot streams flow gushing from Oeta to the sea,
 The northern gates of Hellas, far famed Thermopylæ.
 The lion king of Sparta led forth three hundred men
 Of Lacedæmon's noblest, with allies thousands ten ;
 Callidromos above him, the Malian plain below,
 He perfected his rampart and waited for the foe.
 The ridge of Anopæa, lest danger came that way,
 He trusted to the Phocians to hold by night and day ;
 Himself with his three hundred would guard the sacred sod
 Loved by his own forefather, the great and human god.
 The broken wall they strengthened, and built it firm and true,
 To help them to accomplish the work they had to do ;
 Then girt them for their emprise, to conquer or to fall
 Holding at bay two millions across their single wall.
 So when the Persian army, one blaze of steel and gold,
 Came circling round the Malian gulf, they saw those champions bold
 Some hurling spears in practice to strike the target fair,
 Some seated on the rampart combing their flowing hair.

A mighty shout of laughter burst from the Asian van,
 Forth from the ranks of horsemen rode out a single man,
 Who gazed on that strange vision, then lightly turned his rein
 And urged his fiery courser back to the host again.
 The Great King heard the tidings and curled a lip of scorn,

They called for Demaratus, the exile Spartan-born,
 And asked what foolish madness lay on that little band
 To linger thus in peril in his almighty hand.
 Then answered Demaratus : " O king, for ever reign,
 Such is the wont of Spartans in peril or in pain,
 To deck the body seemly and dress the hair aright
 When they have sworn to conquer or perish in the fight.
 For so Lycurgus charged us, making the body fair
 Thus in the hour of danger to tune the soul to dare ;
 Prepare thy host, great monarch, to render blow for blow,
 These men will all die striking, as I who know them know."

Four days and nights he waited, then ordered forth his van
 To fall upon those madmen, and bring them man by man
 To kneel to him for mercy, his branded sign to bear,
 Since they were thus determined the slave's device to wear.
 As rise the flames to heaven from Ossa's ancient trees,
 When fired by Zeus' thunderbolt they stagger in the breeze,
 While o'er the crashing forest Hephaestus lifts his hand,
 So fell the Median onslaught on that devoted band.
 From morn to eve the battle resounded through the pass,
 The lithe and fearless warriors resisting all the mass
 Of horse and foot and archers, exchanging blow for blow,
 Nor yielding for an instant a foot before the foe.
 With light and careless laughter the Spartan hoplites thrust
 And cut and stabbed together, till prostrate in the dust
 Lay every gallant foeman who reached upon that day
 The slender line of spear-points that blocked the narrow way.
 And when the night fell darkling over the Malian sea,
 The Hellenes held their vantage for all the world to see,
 Before them rose a trophy their own right hands had felled,
 A ghastly heap of corpses, and still the pass was held.

With the first flush of morning the battle woke again,
 The fight was stern and eager, the arrows fell like rain :
 Still mid the shock and struggle stood firm the Spartan spears,
 And still the mocking laughter rang in the Great King's ears.
 Thrice in his rage and fury he started from his throne,
 Careless of all the carnage, heedless of shriek and moan,
 And urged his legions onward, with axe and spear and targe
 To sweep away the Hellenes in one o'erwhelming charge.

In vain from earliest morning until the close of day
 That mighty host endeavoured to force the narrow way,
 While from the slopes of Oeta rang back the battle's roar
 For many a league to landward and all along the shore.
 But when the shades of evening amid the valleys slept
 The traitor Ephialtes on his foul errand crept,
 And sold the Medes for money the secret of the hills,
 The path that wound to westward o'er Anopaea's rills.
 Round through the silent forests Hydarnes with his band
 Of resolute Immortals marched at the King's command ;
 All night they scaled the mountain, he and his vengeful host,
 And fell at earliest twilight upon the Phocian post.
 The Phocians woke in terror, and reeled before the flight
 Of arrows and of javelins that clove the dying night :
 The fallen leaves had muffled the footsteps of the foe,
 Till on the startled sentinels they rose in endless row.
 They locked their shields, resolving to hold the mountain side,
 The scornful Persians followed behind the traitor guide,
 Sparing the lesser quarry to net the nobler prey,
 And overhung Alpenus when broke the golden day.

And so the king of Sparta saw in the morning light
 The torrent beds behind him aglow with armour bright ;
 The sheen of gilded helmets, of silvered spears the gleam,
 Not such the foam and glitter of any mountain stream.
 Small time was his to ponder, since all was then to do,
 He sent his allies southward with counsel wise and true ; [host,
 With slow and lingering footsteps south marched that mourning
 Leaving their king behind them to perish at his post.
 Around him his three hundred, with seven hundreds more,
 The noble sons of Thespiae who marched with him to war :
 "No Thebans we," they shouted, "to bow before the Mede ;
 We claim our right to share with thee the soreness of thy need."

The hero looked upon them, and smiled his splendid smile :
 "Brothers in arms I greet you, hearts free from fear or guile,
 Be yours to stay and witness how with his latest breath
 A king of Sparta welcomes the form and face of Death.
 Yet ere we fall, as surely we all shall fall this day,
 Take ye the thanks of Sparta to nerve ye for the fray,
 No thought be ours save honour, no pride of post or place,

We all shall rest together when we have run the race.
First, as Lycurgus charged us, make we the body whole,
Then call upon the Thunderer to fill with fire the soul ;
Now sit we down together our latest bread to break,
This night we sup with Pluto beside the sunless lake."

So, as the sun rose higher, they broke their bread and drank, [rank
Then prayed their prayers, and formed them in column rank by
Led by the lion-hearted they rushed upon the foe,
Their heads erect and haughty, their spears all levelled low.
Leaving the pass unguarded that they had held so well,
Upon the Persian leaguer, careless of life, they fell;
The war-cries ringing round them, the very heavens dark
With dust and flying weapons, they drove towards their mark.
As breaks the storm in winter, with scuds of sweeping rain
And peals of echoing thunder, across the Argolic plain,
While shepherds vainly listen, stunned by the roar and shock,
To hear amid the tumult the bleating of the flock,
So on that mighty army the Hellene column broke ; . .
And vanished for a moment amid the battle smoke;
Straight to the King's pavilion cleaving their desperate way,
Where all of Persia's bravest were ranked in close array.
There, in the foremost battle, prone fell the Lion King,
With many a Median warrior stretched round him in a ring.
Over his fallen body full fiercely raged the fight ;
There died two Persian princes before their brother's sight,
And lesser chiefs and nobles swelled high the heap of slain
That marked the hero's resting-place upon the battle plain.
Four times the Spartan hoplites drove back the swarming foe,
Four times they heaved the dead aside and reached their king below,
Till from the pass behind them they heard the exulting cries
Of those who scaled the mountain, closing upon their prize.
Then back they drew together, where, girt with many a tree,
The slopes of storied Oeta slide down to meet the sea ;
Here in a compact circle they made their final stand,
Where now the sculptured lion looks out across the land.
So, till each sword was broken and shivered every spear,
O'erwhelmed by countless myriads they sold their lives full dear,
And man by man they perished, each as he sank beneath
The rising pile of corpses fighting with hands and teeth.
Dieneces the fearless, Megistias the sage,
The sons of Orsiphantus, and with them on the page

Of Fame's undying record shall stand for evermore
 Ther Thespian Dithyrambus, who died with them in war.
 Cry shame upon the traitors, the perfidious Theban band,
 Who bore upon their bodies the haughty Persian's brand,
 The victor's shameful mercy, the scutcheon of the slave,
 Shrinking before the slaughter their sullied lives to save.

When that great fight was ended the Persian King was led,
 Surrounded by his satraps, to gaze upon the dead;
 He saw his fallen warriors lying in endless rows,
 And, still in death unconquered, that little band of foes.
 They searched with eager malice amid the ghastly ring
 Until they found the body of Saparta's soldier-king,
 They hewed the head from off it, and hung the trunk on high
 Upon a mighty gibbet, in sign of victory.
 But vain, proud King, thy triumph, for he who there had died
 Had stemmed thy further conquest and shattered all thy pride;
 No shafts of after insult or shame of later scorn
 Could dim the crown of glory those gallant brows had worn.

Now, forty summers later, across the steaming rills
 The Spartan trumpets waken the echoes of the hills,
 And tenderly we gather the ashes of the great,
 Still lying as he left them, the guardian of the gate.
 Lo, homeward now we bear them, to lay them in our earth,
 Amid the mouldering relics of those who gave him birth ;
 And yearly through all ages we hymn the deathless names,
 While smoke the laden alters, and Spartans hold their games,
 High stands the sculptured lion, bright gleam the graven lines,
 The record of that slaughter that fair for ever shines :
 " Go, tell to Lacedæmon, O thou that passest by,
 That, loyal to the latest to Sparta, here we lie. "

Raise high your heads ye warriors who bear the sacred bier,
 Ye daughters of Laconia spare not the wail and tear,
 So weep we but for monarchs, so mourn for those alone
 In whose veins runs the valiant blood a god has deigned to own.
 Fling open wide the portals that guard the holy dust
 Of Lacedæmon's noblest in everlasting trust,
 Since first Aristodemus in the dim mist of years
 Along the swift Eurotas led down his Dorian spears.
 This day the name of Sparta is famed from sea to sea,

And feared as that of Ares wherever Hellenes be;
No foe but bows before us, no force on earth but yields
Before the line of helmets, the serried row of shields.
Leave to the sons of Athens the chisel and the pen,
The arts of peace and plenty fit not the nurse of men,
Let Corinth's merchants value their wealth of costly bales
Brought through the waves of Myrto by their returning sails;
Let the soft Chian revel amid his wines, and sing
The praise of Aphrodite, the joys that she may bring;
Let Siphnos, Lesbos, Samos, seek pleasure peace and pelf;
She needs no outward splendours who glories in herself.
Not ours the thirst for empire, who hold our Spartan lands
By virtue of past victory, by title of strong hands ;
Iron our very money, iron our strength and will,
Resistless might our only right, a right that serves us still.
Now to the Great Twin Brethren bend we the knee in pride,
To thank them for the memory of those who fought and died
That we our wives and children might hold the foremost place
Amid the sons of Hellas, the birthright of our race.
Long as the work of Ares on earth remains to do,
Long as the weak and wavering need leaders brave and true,
Long as the rich and idle bow to the stronger hand,
Shall Spartans order victory alike by sea and land.

EUMOLPOS.

Art. III.—SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS IN TRANSITION.

IN New Zealand, Feejee, and the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii, are to be seen three savage races of superior character and energy who have been entirely converted to Christianity almost within living memory. I spent more than two months among the three peoples in 1904, and was less struck by the natural differences between them than by the differences resulting from their Christianization. The Hawaiians were the earliest converted, and no individual now survives either of those who once were heathen or of the missionaries who were instrumental in their conversion. Among the Maoris and Feejeeans, however, not a few remain who were themselves warriors and murderers. Regarding their cannibalism, an amount of misapprehension seems to exist. I have been assured by a man who might pass for being educated, but who knew nothing of the matter he was talking about, that the accounts of Feejeean cannibalism are much exaggerated, and that the people only at times ate the bodies of notable men killed in battle as a savage completion of their triumph over them. He might as well have said that Muhammadans never ate beef unless they wanted to provoke Hindoos. The fact is not only notorious in a general way that the Feejeeans used human flesh as ordinary diet; but it is certified by many cases, of which full particulars are recorded, where men went out to catch men, women, and children to be cooked and eaten at an ordinary feast, and where presents of food made to a Chief included one or more human victims bound hand and foot and thrown down on the ground till the time came to kill them. Old

people still live who remember these things as commonplace occurrences, and who have taken part in them. There are also recorded in print circumstantial accounts by travellers and official reports by naval officers to the same effect. Of the Maoris the truth seems to be that they only occasionally, as an act of revenge, devoured parts of the bodies of enemies ; and the same thing is affirmed of the inhabitants of other islands in the South Seas, in some of which the horrible practice still prevails. How it was in the case of the Hawaiians I do not know, but there are authentic accounts of the time a hundred years ago, from which the truth can be ascertained. I have read a denial of the common statement that Captain Cook was eaten as well as killed, in a guide-book ; but the authority for the denial was not given.

The condition of Christianity is curiously different among the three peoples. The natives of Hawaii have been virtually independent of missionaries for between thirty and forty years, providing their own-churches and ministers, and ranking with the other Christian countries of the world. And as there are in all Christian nations religious and irreligious people, so there are in Hawaii people who go to church and keep the commandments and people who do what they like. The Natives, as distinguished from the Japanese and Chinese, who outnumber them three times, are all American citizens, and they are keen politicians, not only contending as Republicans and Democrats, but having a strong "home rule" party besides, composed of those who opposed the annexation to America and who wanted some an independent Republic, and some the restoration of the deposed Royal family. They have their own newspapers in their own language, which was reduced to writing by the first missionaries. But the Americans,

with their illiberal policy, have forbidden the study of the native language; so the next generation will do their political raging, not as Hawaiians, but as Americans.

The intellectual level of these islanders is seen to be good by comparing them with the Negroes in all parts of the Western Hemisphere, who are all Christians but who have been slower than the Sandwich Islanders in improving their educational opportunities and in taking part in politics with real intelligence. The American Indians, even of the best tribes, are hopelessly behind, whatever their opportunities. In Honolulu, as I saw, and throughout the islands, as I believe, every trace of the old signs seems to have disappeared, except the taste of both men and women for decorating themselves with fresh flowers. Tourists put on such garlands when they stop at Honolulu, as they buy and wear a fez at Suez; so a crowd of women, girls and old men, dirty, dishevelled, and uninviting, line the wharf when a steamer comes in, and quietly and composedly offer for sale garlands, wreaths, chaplets, bouquets, and other strings and bunches of flowers. Strings of shells, which are sold in shops throughout the South Seas and in New Zealand, are displayed along with the flowers in Honolulu, although this is by no means a land of shells like Feejee. The complexions of the people are dark, and many of the worst dressed men and women go bare footed. In other respects the islands are quite European. Old arts, old fashions, old pursuits, and even old things, articles of use, have passed away in the miserable, world-wide rage to have all men of one look and one way, while practically denying that they are of one blood. The magnificent and healthful sport of surf-riding, which was one of the modern wonders of the world, instead of being introduced into America,

is being allowed to die out in Hawaii ; and whereas every man, woman, and child used to ride on horseback, they now prefer carts and carriages. Successful Chinamen have fine, large shops in Honolulu, but they all dress as Europeans and require a close look to distinguish them from the other coloured races. A group of bare-footed and straw-hatted newsboys includes a slant-eyed Chinese as well as strips of other nationalities from pure white to deep brown, but the Chinese is as alert and sharp-voiced as any of the rest, and quicker at counting change.

After the Sandwich Islanders come the Maoris of New Zealand, among whom Christianity was ruined by the devastating nine years' war of the sixties, in which, as all parties now acknowledge, the British were wrong and the Maoris were right. The Governor of the day wilfully decided for war when documentary evidence, yet open to inspection, was forthcoming to prove that he had no cause. The only cheerful memory of that most lamentable war against a brave and heroic people is that their courage won the admiration of their enemy, and that to-day many survivors of those who fought on the British side have nothing but good to say of the cause for which the Maoris fought and the fairness and chivalry with which they conducted the struggle. These Maoris had been ruthless savages less than a generation before. For twenty years they had been professing and practising the Christian religion. And it broke them up when the country which had sent them missionaries made war on them about a matter which might have been settled by arbitration several times over. For, as I have said, there seems not to be the smallest doubt in anybody's mind now that the Natives were exactly in the right, and that they were calm and consistent in stating how the case stood.

In the early stages of the war the Maoris fought as Christians should fight if they must fight ; and over and over their Chiefs interfered to allow the enemy every fair right. But the British did not understand bush-fighting. Ceaseless dissensions occurred between the imported troops from England and the armed Colonists in whose interest they had come. So the war dragged on thrice as long as the late Boer war ; religion declined as the stress of war increased ; disputes became more perplexing ; the young Maoris broke away from the influence of their Christian Chiefs ; the Chiefs themselves lost heart ; and a large number of Maoris who kept out of the war were pressed till they were distracted to prove their loyalty by taking up arms in the just cause of their countrymen.

The end of the war is not remembered by people out of the country who have not read up the history. The British troops were withdrawn, and the Colonial Government was left to carry on the struggle with its own farmer soldiers. These men could fight in the bush, and they and the Maoris harried each other till the latter were reduced to starvation. One of the old Colonists has told me how he got a hundred canoe-loads of potatoes from the Maoris for his own troops, paying handsomely for them, by representing that he was a schoolmaster in the neighbourhood. At length hostilities gradually died away ; a large tract of land was confiscated, a crushing "national debt" remained on the Colony, and the Maoris were left in possession of some millions of acres, which land is theirs, by law, inalienably to this day, and is still colloquially called "the King country," because the Maoris, previously to the war, had made a supreme effort to settle their difficulties by setting up a king of their own ; for at that time they were not under the British Government.

People in Europe and India do not hear of what goes on in New Zealand, unless it relates to international interests. But on the spot one soon learns that during the thirty odd years that have passed since the war some thousands of the Maoris, embracing the tribes about whose territory the war was waged, have held aloof from the Colonial Government and the white people. Especially they have laid a toll on white persons entering their territory for whatever purpose; and they have made it practically impossible to serve a writ on any of their people. Governor after Governor has made overtures to them, with the view of establishing relations, but these have been scornfully rejected. Only in recent years, as the old Maoris, have died out, and a new generation, born since the war, have risen in their place, has there appeared a disposition to mingle with the Europeans and regard them as neighbours. The Government has quickly responded to this feeling by appointing the present king, grandson, I believe, of the first king, a member of the Legislative Council. There is probably not a raja in all India, who, in consequence of his retaining the ways of a hundred years ago, would be more out of place in the Viceregal Council than is this Chief in his new position. But he dons a suit of European clothes, and, hat on head, betakes him to the Legislative Chamber on all proper occasions.

I twice went to the "King country," and called to see the personage; but he was away on both occasions, without any word when he might return, just roaming in the usual Maori fashion. I saw his magnificent reed house, with great, grotesque figures adorning the entrance, and met some ladies of his family, who with marvellous expedition prepared

a Native feast for me. 'I believe it would have been the correct thing for me to rub noses with them—a token of politeness which occupies eight or ten seconds—but I did not do it. I also met, in the house, two ancient Chiefs, who had been among the early converts to Christianity and were middle-aged when the war broke out. Their shrivelled faces were covered with tattoo marks, and their eyes glistened with unusual brilliance. They were stiff and slow, but very sinewy, their minds were clear, and I felt sure that with either an axe or a rifle in their hands to bring back the old fire, they could easily have directed a battle and enjoyed it.

These persons live in the "King country" and are very conservative, but the greater part of the Maoris are being Europeanized. Some are professional men, and use English with facility; many more are learning English, but not doing much with it; a few are really successful farmers. Not a few are being taught trades, but the iniquitous and insane labour laws, which have begun already to check the advancement of New Zealand, render it almost impossible for them to get work—a perfect shame on people who have been dispossessed of their own country and deprived of their own means of earning a livelihood. As a rule, the Maori is a victim of indolence and thriftlessness. Grand as he was as a warrior, and hard as he had to work to keep himself in weapons and canoes when he had no tools except stones, he never had an object to accumulate property or to live otherwise than from hand to mouth. So now, with no need to live in readiness for war, and getting everything he wants readymade in shops, he has no inducement to exert himself, but earns a little money as he requires it by odd jobs and casual exertions, and lives on in listless idleness, with occasional bouts of merry-making.

I visited these people in four of their settlements, and was vexed to see them for the most part living in miserable huts and hovels, in the midst of dirt and disorder. Most of them seemed to be always shabby ; a few had the means to dress well when they went out to show themselves. I am writing of the bulk of them, where they live in settlements of their own, in half-Native, half-European fashion : those who have energy and purpose, and are doing all they can for themselves, live in English style in English houses. I saw them living on their own land, but not thinking of making the most of it, or even half they might make out of it. Broken fences and rank weeds marked the portions only of their fields which they thought it sufficient to cultivate. Even their horses and cattle were cheap, ill-kept specimens. On every hand I was told of efforts to employ Maoris on regular wages having failed through the men or women simply discontinuing their work after a few weeks or months. I could not hear of a single instance of a Maori keeping a shop, which, from its requiring constant attention, would be entirely distasteful to him, if not actually impossible.

As for their Christianity, it has largely disappeared : they have never recovered from the disruption of the war. Hawaiians and Negroes, however inconsistent in their lives, maintain churches and keep up the form of religion—with a fair proportion of the genuine article. But the Maoris will not do this : and what religious observances are carried on among them are in the form of Missions by the Church of England and, in a smaller measure, by the Wesleyans.

Strange to tell, Mormon missionaries from America have been at work among the Maoris for many years, and have won over numbers of them, by what means or

with what object I cannot surmise. Perhaps they flatter them in their political views and in their dislike to those who have taken their land. I have not heard of their introducing polygamy among the Maoris, but unlicensed and unregulated polygamy, without Mormon connivance, must be very common : for the proportion of children of Native mothers and European fathers is larger than among any other dark race I have seen. The total number of Maoris is under fifty thousand, and I fear they will decrease and the mixed race will increase, till the former become extinct and the latter sink in the European population.

The third recently Christianized race is the people of Feejee, who are still under the domination of the missionaries, and living in peace and order except at the four or five places where foreign commerce has begun to demoralize them. It is almost an ideal existence for an uncivilized people without ambition and with little capacity to rise ; and in my opinion the explanation of their stability and prosperity is that the people themselves pay every penny of the cost of their religion—churches, schools, Native ministers' salaries and houses, books, furniture, etc.,—and are so liberal with their contributions that there is a balance every year toward the general expenses of the Society in Sydney. It is a rule the world over that people value what they pay for, and despise what costs them nothing—a principle which our Government in India does not take to heart—and the Feejeeans jealously hold by their Christianity because it is their own, possessed and paid for by themselves.

But as in New Zealand, so in Feejee, there seems to be trouble in store for the Natives. The danger is averted at present, thanks to the independent spirit

of the new Governor, appointed as I was leaving Feejee. But under his two or three predecessors the interests and wishes of the people, who cost the Government nothing and who ask only to be let alone, were subordinated to the profit of the sugar-planters and other European capitalists, who are not necessary in the islands and ought to be suffered there only at their own risk. At the time I write of, that is, the time of my visit, the evil threatened in two forms. First, there was a hateful scheme to deprive the people of their land, nearly the whole of which, throughout the islands, belongs to the Natives in inviolable possession. This land is lusted for by European capitalists, who possess means to bring heavy and steady pressure to bear on the Government to let them get it, first on one pretext then on another, first on conditional terms and later without conditions. This may be done with miraculous fairness. For the people are still very strongly under control of their tribal Chiefs, some of whom are unhappily susceptible to flattery. It would not be difficult to induce several of these to persuade their people to surrender, first only a portion of their land, for a most liberal return. Nothing could seem more reasonable and proper : but the end would inevitably be what it has been in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

The other prospective danger is annexation to New Zealand, a measure which would involve the expropriation of the land, and its redistribution to Feejeeans and others on a principle to be devised by that sapient power the Labour Party in New Zealand. The annexation would take place at the earnest solicitation of the Feejeeans themselves, supported by all the legal and political talent of New Zealand. Of course the people would not

do the solicitation of their own accord : but agents are always ready to persuade them that the true remedy for their grievances lies in honourable incorporation with the Colony. And the Feejeeans have grievances, which are imperfectly listened to and considered by Government. Taxes are unequally imposed and are made to fall heavily on the Natives who are, moreover, harassed and interfered with by Government to a degree of which the people of India, a conquered country, have no dream, and which is almost incredible.

The Feejeeans impressed me as a most interesting people, generous, manly, unsophisticated, and not aping European manners except where they frequent the centres of European life and fall into the snare of fashion. They have no fear, and all classes can swim and row and fish and climb and use their hands. They are on the average darker than the people of upper and western India, and are not as good-looking, unless one can see beauty in frank and sturdy faces. They have no sneaking ways, and are liked by the Europeans in spite of their Polynesian unwillingness to work steadily. It would be difficult to find another people so free from crime—a feature which is of course entirely due to the genuineness of their Christianity. When they get into trouble, it is nearly always for a breach of tribal laws, which are, and have to be, enforceable by Government.

BENJAMIN AITKEN.

Lucknow.

Art. IV.—THE “ LITTLE PORT ” OF BENGAL.

ECHOES FROM OLD SAPTAGRAM.

“And many a shatter'd step, and stone
Where lights the foot with faltering tread,
But sadly speak of what is gone,
As relics whisper of the dead.”—*Derosio*.

THE Hindu kingdom in India came down from the darkest and remotest antiquity, and, towards the beginning of the Christian era, was troubled with internal discord. Following in the wake of other provinces, Bengal started up into an independent kingdom and was governed by successive dynasties of Rājās. Before its conquest by Bakhtiyār Khilji in 1203 A.D., Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts, “ Banga” (“ first mentioned in the *Tārīkī Barāni* as the residence of an independent Rāi”) being the country to the east of and beyond the delta of the Ganges. In 1323 A.D. the seats of the Mahomedan governors were Sātgāon and Sōnārgāon and the term “ Bāngālā ” was applied to the united provinces of Lakhnāuti, Sātgāon and Sonārgāon. It was during the reign of Sultan Ghiās-ud-din Tughlāk (who invaded Bengal to chastise Bāhādur Shāh, king of Sōnārgāon) that Sātgāon is first mentioned in Mahomedan history. At this time, too, it was placed under a military governor Izz-ud-din Azimal Mulk (1323—1339 A.D.) by name, and Behar was separated from Bengal.

EARLY ANNALS.

Saptagrām (Sātgāon, Sātāgong, Sātgānw, Sātigān literally “ seven villages ”) owes its name to a Paurānic legend. Prayābasta, king of Kanauj, had seven sons named Agnidra, Rōmanaka, Bhōpisanta, Saurabhanā, Barā, Sabana and Dyutimanta. The princes were of a

religious turn of mind and lived in seven villages, which were named after them and formed Sātgāon. This city, (Lat. $22^{\circ}38'20''$ N., Long. $88^{\circ}25'10''$ E.) situated on the bank of the once mighty river Saraswati, is admitted on all hands to have been the ancient mercantile capital of Bengal. It was the recognised port of West Bengal, to which nearly all the sea-borne trade was brought, and the Divisional Governor had his headquarters here. Merchants from all important places came to trade in it and the Saraswati swarmed with ships and sails of almost all nations. It was the royal emporium of Bengal from the time of Pliny down to the arrival of the Portuguese about the year 1530 A.D. They were the first European nation to visit India and built factories here. They called it the Porto Piqueno ("little haven") as opposed to the Porto Grande ("great haven") by which name Chittagong was known on account of its harbour being more convenient for the entrance and departure of ships. "Sarkār Sātgāon" was one of the administrative divisions of the Mogul Empire and, as Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford states, included the Twenty-four Pergunāhs, Nadiā as well as the present Hugli district. Professor Blochmann adds that to this Sarkār belonged Mahall Kalkāttā (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauzās paid in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. In all, it consisted of 53 mahalls the total revenue being Rs. 418,118. Purchas describes Sātgāon as "a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull." About the same view is taken by other

WESTERN VISITORS.

Cæsar Fredericke, the Venetian traveller, who came here about 1570, states that in it "the merchants gather themselves together for trade. . . . In the port . . . every year they lade 30 or 35 ships, great and small, with

rice, cloth of bombast of diverse sort, lac, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of Zerzeline and other sorts of merchandise." He adds that there was much commerce in silver between Pegu and Sātgāon. His account is borne out by the description given in the *Kavikankān Chandi* written about the same time. Rennell in his *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan* (1793) describes Sātgāon to have been in 1566 and probably later, a large commercial city in which the European traders had their factories in Bengal. Van Linschoten speaks of it as the chief town of Bengal, and goes on to observe that "the Portingalles deale and traffique thither and some places are inhabited by them. . . . Besides their ryce, much cotton linnen is made there which is much esteemed in India." M. Thevenot describes Bengal as "full of castles and townes," of which latter "Sātigān, Pātāne, Casānbāzār and Chātigān are very rich." So also says M. Du Jarric in his *Histoires des Indes Orientales* (1610): "Or Chātigān est une ville & port de mer en un des Royaumes de Bengala, qu'on appelle des Mogos." Caesare dei Fedrici calls it a fine city: "La citta di Sātigān è honestamente bella per citta di Mori, & è molto abondante." By both DeLaet in his *India Vera* (1631) and Mandelslo in his *Voyages* (1727) Sātgāon is spoken of as one of the principal cities in the province of Bengal. De Barros calls it a "great and noble city." Mention is made of "quiltes of Sutgonge wrought with yellowe silke" in the *Factory Records*, as quoted by Mr. Foster in his recent work on the English Factories in India. Ralph Fitch, the English traveller, visited Sātgāon about 1586 and speaks of it as a port about a league from Hugli. A city of great antiquity, Sātgāon is by some supposed to be the "Gangé Regia" of Ptolemy, while

there are others who would ascribe that name to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal. Merchants from all parts of the world came to sell their wares at Sātgāon, which, at the time, is said to have attained to an immense size, having "swallowed a hundred villages." It was one of the five "mint cities" of Sikandar Shāh, and became the residence of kings, and the bāzārs are said to have been filled with the busy hum of men and the river crowded with boats. Indeed, foreign trade so sharpened the wits of the townsmen that a Bengali proverb still makes 'a man of Sātgāon' synonymous with a shrewd fellow.

ANOTHER VISITOR.

A poem in praise of the serpent-goddess, written by Bipradās, a Bengali author, in 1495 (when Hossain Shāh was the reigning Sultan of Bengal) gives a description of the voyage of Chāndsadāgar. Dr. Wilson takes this poem as giving the first authentic picture of Calcutta and other places. "Chāndsadāgar's small fleet of seven ships after passing Rājghāt and Indraghāt, Nadiā and Ambua, comes at last to Trivenī. Here Chānd landed on the bank to see the great city of Saptagrām. This is the home of the seven saints . . . the abode of bliss . . . Here are found the Gungā and the Jumnā and the wideflowing Saraswatī and Umā Maheswari presides over all. Overjoyed at the sight of the Ganges at Trivenī, Prince Chānd stayed his boat by the bank. Glad at heart, the king performed the ceremonies befitting a place of pilgrimage and devotion and worshipped Maheshwari. Then having finished his devotions, the king with joyful heart repaired to the city and compassed it round about. After staying there for two days he returned to his fleet."

"TRIPLE TRESS".

Trivenī (literally "three-plaited locks") called Tropina by Pliny and Trippina by the Portuguese, is the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumnā and the Saraswati. It is about a mile from Sātgāon and is so named by the Paurāṇics because the three rivers are supposed to meet there. "Their waters" says Lieutenant-Colonel Wilford, "do not mix, but keep distinct all the way. The waters of the Jamnā are blue, those of the Saraswati white and the Ganges of a muddy yellowish colour." Trivenī is considered a sacred spot and is a resort of thousands of pilgrims eager to bathe in the all-cleansing stream. It is famous as one of the four "*Samājēs*" or seats of Sanskrit learning. It was here that the famous embassy sent by the East India Company to Emperor Farakshiyār—in which William Hamilton, by curing the Emperor, is said to have obtained for his countrymen liberty to trade in Bengal free of duty—was received in great state in 1717. It boasts of a *ghāṭ* and temple founded by Telinga Mukunda Dev, the last independent king of Orissa, and formed the northern boundary of his dominions. The renowned Pandit Jagannāth Tarkapanchānan, the Sanskrit tutor of Sir William Jones and compiler of a Digest of Hindu Law, was born at Trivenī. The Pandit had an extraordinary memory, and an anecdote is related of him that one morning when he was returning home from a bath in the Ganges, he met two persons—a "Kāffir" and a Chinaman—abusing each other. On being summoned as a witness he stated that he did not understand the language used by the parties, but remembered the words each had uttered and repeated them verbatim from memory to the astonishment of all! Stavorinus, the Dutch Admiral, who visited Bengal about 1769,

thus testifies to the sanctity of the Ganges at Trivenī: "The waters of the Ganges are esteemed holy and the river sacred by all the Indians. . . . The Gentoos worship the Ganges as a divinity and an annual festival is held in its honour . . . The number of people whom I saw arrive in the latter end of March, at Hughli and Terbonee, for the above purpose, was incredible. . The concourse continued for three days together. All of them whether men, women or children, when they had washed themselves, and set off on their return home, carried with them some of the river water in vessels which they had brought for that purpose for the use of such of their relatives and friends as were left behind, and who, by age or infirmity were incapacitated for performing the journey."

THE PREY OF TIME.

Owing no doubt to its wealth and magnificence Sātgāon had never been free from depredations. These were due also perhaps to its distance from the Imperial Capital and the tendency of the local Governors to revolt against authority. About 1340, the rebellion of Fakruddin broke out in Bengal. With his Bengali forces he killed Qādr Khān, Governor of Lakhnāuti, and after plundering the treasury, secured possession of that place and of Sātgāon and Sōnārgāon. In 1535 Diogo Rabello arrived at Sātgāon and caused two vessels of Cambaya which had come there with merchandise, to quit the port and go down the river, forbidding them to carry on any trade. The Afghans from Orissa plundered Sātgāon in 1592. Even in Akbar's time it was known as Bālghāk Khānā (house of revolt). The silting up of the Saraswatī appears to have begun about the commencement of the sixteenth century. The great stream of the Ganges which formerly flowed southwards from

Sātgāon by way of the Sarasvatī, gradually diverted its waters into the Hugli then a comparatively small river. By the middle of the century Sātgāon was getting difficult of access. The kingdom of Orissa sank into decay about the same time. The Portuguese Fort of Hugli was captured in 1632 by Qāsim Khān, Governor of Bengal, under orders of Emperor Shāh Jehān, one of the reasons assigned being that the Portuguese were in league with pirates and had "drawn away all trade from Sātgāon." It was in this year that, after 1500 years of commercial splendour, Sātgāon was abandoned and Hugli became the royal port, all public offices being transferred there from Sātgāon. But Warwicke, a Dutch Admiral (quoted by Mr. J. C. Marshman—and not the Rev. J. Long, as is generally supposed—in the *Calcutta Review* for 1846) states that Sātgāon continued to be a great place of trade for some years to come. At this time the river was navigable by sea-going ships up to Garden Reach which became the anchoring place of the Portuguese. Beyond this point the river was considered too shallow for any but country boats. "At Betor, on the western bank, near Sibpur, every year, when the ships arrived from Goa, innumerable thatched houses were erected, markets were opened, and all sorts of provisions and stores brought to the waterside. An immense number of galliaxes lay at anchor in the deep water waiting, while the small budgerows made their way up the river past Barānagore, Dakshineswar, and Agarpārā, to the Porto Piqueno at Sātgāon, and returned filled with silks and muslin, lac, sugar and rice. During these months the banks on both sides of the river were alive with people and a brisk trade was carried on. But no sooner was the last boat come from Sātgāon, and her cargo safely shipped

aboard the galliases, than they set fire to the temporary houses and improvised markets of bamboo and straw and the places vanished like Alāddin's Palace when carried off by the Jinnee. Away sailed the Portuguese back to Goa, leaving apparently no traces of their coming except burnt straw and ruined huts." Sātgāon was plundered many a time during the Māhrāttā raids in the eighteenth century. About a mile off, at Bānsberiā, may be seen a broad and deep moat, covering about 400 bighās of land, constructed to serve as a strong place of refuge for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the incursions of the Māhrāttās. Here is the famous temple of Hanseswari, by far the handsomest building in Bengal, constructed in 1814 at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. When Dāud Shāh, the last independent king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was defeated and killed at the battle of Rājmehal, Khān Jehān proceeded to Sātgāon where Dāud's family lived at the time, defeated the remnants of Dāud's followers and re-annexed Sātgāon to the Mōgul Empire. The last mention that is made of Sātgāon in Mahomedan history is that the rebel Shōvā Sing took refuge here when he was pursued by the Dutch in 1697. Sunk though it was into a shadow of its former self, Sātgāon continued none the less to attract people who resorted to it, if not for anything else at any rate for personal comfort. Even in the eighteenth century, the Dutch merchants of Chinsurā are said to have had their country seats at Sātgāon, and Eastwick states that they *walked* thither (a distance of six miles!) in the middle of the day for dinner. The village was the residence of some paper manufacturers in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Mr. Marshman states that in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the river near Sātgāon and exposed to view the masts of a ship.

OLD LANDMARKS.

Nothing now remains to indicate the former grandeur of old Saptagrām, except a ruined mosque situated on the south and west of the Grand Trunk Road just before it crosses the bridge. This mosque, with three tombs near it, was built by Sāyyid Jāmāl-ud-din, son of Sāyyid Fakir-ud-din, who, according to inscriptions on the mosque, had come from Amul, a town on the Caspian Sea. A description of the mosque is given by Professor H. Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1870. He observes that the ground between Sātgāon and the Saraswatī is uneven and looks as if it had been the site of an extensive settlement. At one place, not far from the road, the capital of a large pillar emerges from the ground. "The Grand Trunk Road passes through the ruins and crosses the river just after passing the thirty-first milestone. On the east of the road is a large quadrangular mass of high ground, the soil of which seems to consist almost entirely of broken bricks worn away to powder. This is the fort built, it is said, by Hussain Shāh, Sultan of Bengal; and one can imagine that sea-going ships were once able to lie alongside its river-wall and discharge their cargoes. Further east are a number of tanks, one of which, known as Jehāngir's Tank, being of considerable size." Sātgāon is an inconsiderable village now, but true to its name, it is still said to consist of seven villages contiguous to each other, which go by the names of Bāsudepur, Bansabāti, Krisnapur, Nityānandapur, Sibpur, Sankhanagar and Sātgāon proper. The Saraswatī is now a small stream having a "belt of low land on each side about a quarter of a mile in total breadth, which is sometimes filled in the rains." Apart from its commercial

greatness Sātgāon was pre-eminently a place of religion and consisted of a number of temples which were frequented by Sādhus. Even now it claims

A HISTORIC TEMPLE

of which a short account may not be uninteresting. About the twelfth century A. D. when Vallāla Sen was king of Bengal, the Suvarnavanikas (banker caste) were among the most influential of his subjects. They were the Rothschilds of their day and many a time obliged the king with loans of money. They incurred the displeasure of the ruler of the land owing to Vallavānanda, one of their caste-men, refusing him a fresh loan while his former debts were unpaid, and the angry fiat of that irresponsible king drove them away from the capital. Attracted by the mercantile splendour of Sātgāon which was at the time in the hey-day of its glory, some of them came and resided there. Among them was one Nilāmbar Dutt. A descendant of his, Uddhāran Dutt, was a saint and an associate of Lord Gaurāṅga when he preached his Gospel of Love in the fourteenth century. The temple referred to above was dedicated to saint Uddhāran and is considered as of great importance owing to its being one of the twelve seats of religion of the Vaisnavas. Besides an image of the God, the temple holds the remains of Uddhāran Dutt and a *Mādhabi* tree hoary with age. Tradition has it that when Lord Nityānanda visited Sātgāon, Uddhāran cooked his food for him, and the twig used for this purpose was planted at the spot by Nitāi himself. This has now developed into a mighty *Mādhabi* tree, the diameter of its trunk measuring six feet. The temple, with its adjuncts, has been renovated only recently and some wealthy gentlemen of the Suvarnavanik community contemplate acquiring

land in the vicinity and making Sātgāon their country-seat. A representation has also been made to the authorities of the East Indian Railway Company to have the name of the Trisbigha station changed into the historic one of Saptagrām. A festival is held in December every year at this place as well as in the neighbouring villages of Trivenī and Krisnapur, when there is a large concourse of people. The places

ROUND AND ABOUT SATGAON

are more or less of historic interest. The church at Bandel—about a mile to the south of Sātgāon, was founded in 1599 and is regarded as the oldest Christian building in Bengal. M. Grandpré writing in 1803, speaks of the excellence of the cheese prepared at Bandel. Hard by up stands Hugli which was built on the ruins of old Sātgāon and remained the chief seat of the maritime trade of Bengal until the founding of Calcutta half a century later. It has now dwindled back into the almost insignificant town that it was formerly. It was at Hugli that the first press in Bengal was set up, and there in 1778, the first book in Bengali—Halhed's Grammar—was printed. Warren Hastings often came to visit his "elegant Marian" when she was putting up with the Mottes at Hugli House. About a couple of miles from this place was the house of Major Phil Baggs at Hugli where the celebrated Madame Grand used to stay. She will be remembered here, on the banks of the Ganges, as the *chere amie* of Sir Philip Francis, the reputed "Junius." It was as the wife of Talleyrand that she reappeared on the banks of the Seine.

Art. V.—THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

I.—BENGAL.

THE present extraordinary development of the Press is apt to confound us as to its origin and early history. Journalism in its origin was only a regular system of communication of news by means of written signs. Journalism as an agency for supplying opinions is a very modern innovation—a recent improvement so to say. Newspapers were originally very humble things and small, and they supplied news pure and simple. Such primitive journalism was independent not only of printing but writing itself. Accordingly the origin of journalism can be traced to the ancient Postal System of Europe and Western Asia and to the ancient spy system of India.*

* It may not be generally known that the development of the *Roman Journal* was due to a decree of Caesar that the reports of the sittings of the Senate as well as those of the people should "be daily written out and published." Publication then meant posting on a wall. The facts may be familiar to readers of Tacitus Suetonius, Livy and Pliny. But all who were interested could not read the reports themselves. It accordingly grew customary to apply to one of the people who made a business of collecting news to transmit to those who wanted them. These were the ancestors of the *reporters* of to-day; but then as the profession was not overesteemed, they were simply called workmen—*operarii*. The name of Chrestos borne by one permits the supposition that they were Greeks, that is to say, those pliant, dexterous and intelligent people who insinuated themselves everywhere, and were to do aught than die of hunger. In prowling the streets, in listening to what was said in the Forum, they picked up certain stories, which they strung together and made into a farrago to which serious persons sometimes gave a derogatory name—*compilatio*, but which did not fail to give the Roman lost in some corner of Germany or Africa a moment's diversion. When Augustus forbade the further publication of the reports of the proceedings in the Senate, the news of Rome, formerly an accessory, became the main feature of the *Journal*—the *Acta senatus et populi* was henceforth called the *Acta diurna populi romani*. As there was no printing then, slave copyists were numerous at Rome, they wrote rapidly, they were cheap, and their work was sufficient for the circulation of the manuscript *Journal*. When Cicero felt the need of rousing public opinion in his favour in the affair of Catiline, he found a large enough number of copyists to transcribe and circulate, through all Italy and in provinces, the depositions of the witnesses against the conspirators. But the ancient Romans, while

India under her ancient Hindu rulers maintained a vigorous Intelligence Department with agents at home and abroad. It consisted of employees both avowed and unavowed. To the category of the avowed belonged the ambassadors and envoys accredited to Foreign States and the members of their missions. These ancient Hindu ambassadors depended upon secret emissaries in their pay for procuring information to send home as well as to enable them to act with effect in the interest of their own sovereign. These emissaries and intelligenchers of the ancient Hindu Sovereigns can be regarded as the earliest journalists of India—the humble precursors of modern journalism—the rude forefathers of the colossus of the Press of our day.*

When the Mahomedans conquered India, they adopted the Indian system of governing with the assistance of emissaries and news-agents and improved it considerably. They introduced into it a distinct sense of responsibility and made it a truly workmanlike organisation. During the Mogul Period in especial it took shape as a Press in the sense of the present day as a re-organisable journalism before the use of printing.

availing themselves of the journals, felt at bottom small esteem for them. They found them useful for circulating official documents and communicating news, but they did not think their province capable of further extension. In fact, the old Romans had no experience of journalism.

* The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has the following on the origin of English newspapers : “The first English journalists were the writers of ‘news-letters’ originally the dependants of great men, each employed in keeping his own master or patron well informed during his absence from court of all that transpired there. The duty grew at length into a calling. The writer had his periodical subscription list, and instead of writing a single letter wrote as many letters as he had customers. Then one more enterprising than the rest established an ‘intelligence office’ with a staff of clerks. The manuscript news-letters—some of them proceeding from writers of marked ability who had access to official information and were able to write with greater freedom and independence of tone than the compilers of the printed news—held their ground, although within narrowing limits, until the middle of the eighteenth century.”

Waqānegaur or news-agent or intelligencer became a regular department of the State to supply news, descriptions of events and ceremonies, complaints, etc., to the Court at regular intervals in the form of *wagās* or newsletters. They were regularly written by *waqāyā nevis* or news-writers in the Newsbooks of the State which were kept at all centres of the Government. The head of the Department was called *Waqānegaur* or State Intelligencer. In the early annals of the English in Bengal during the first half of the eighteenth century, the English factors frequently availed of these News-agents at Hooghly, then a centre of the Mogul Government in Bengal, to bring their grievances to the notice of the Court. The following are taken from the Bengal Public Consultations.

March 27th 1704—70.—RAMCHANDRA'S INSTRUCTIONS.
It is ordered that Rámachandra, the *Vakīl*, be sent at once to Hugli. He is to write down in his own language the following directions :—“ He is to declare to the Governor, the *Buxie* (*Bakhshi*), and *Wacca Nevis* (*Waqáyánevis*), that we have appointed him vacqueel in Hugli for the affairs of the English.”

Thus it is clear that *waqāyānevis* was an important functionary of the Governor of Hooghly, so much so that the appointment of a vakeel was thought necessary to be brought to his notice so that he might enter that fact in his Newsbooks—*wagas*—for the information of the Court. On the 1st June 1714 the following occurs in the Consultations :—

853—PRESENT TO THE ROYAL MESSENGERS.—June 1st the two Gursburdars, the Swanagur, the Buxey Naib, the Mufty and the Botard being come from Hugli to be Witnesses of the public show and Rejoicing we made for the Honour of the King's Seerpaw, which that they may notifye in their Vacca's (*Wagás*) to Court. Its necessary on that occasion to make them a small Present in Goods, etc.”

On the 28th April and 5th May 1715, the following two remarkable entries occur :—

916.—COMPLAINTS OF EXTORTION AT CASSIMBAZAR.—

April 28th—"The Duan conniving at the Custome Officers at Cassimbuzar, or encourageing them to seize several of our Merchants Factors, who provided goods for us on pretence of Custome, which the King excuses us from the payment of, and Wee having wrote several addresses to the Duan complaining of the grievance which his Officers have not suffered our Vacqueel to deliver, Ordered Therefore now Wee are sending the customary yearly present to the Governour and officers in Hugli that Messrs. Samuell and Browne and William Spencer go to Hugli and in the Governor's Durbarr request the Vaccanagur [*Waqānegaur*] and News Writers to note the cause of our Complaint in the Vacca's [*waqās*] and public Newspapers, by which means it will of necessity come to the Duan's knowledge and possibly induce him to Order the money extorted from our people may be returned to them, or att least those under confinement be released and no more extorted from them."

919.—THE ENGLISH PROTEST RECORDED IN THE NEWS-BOOK—May 5th—"Messrs. Browne and Spencer being returned from Hugli the 2nd Instant delivered in a copy of an Article in the News Books entered at their Desire by the Vaccanagur (*Waqānegaur*) the Translate of which is entered after this Consultation.

A Copy of an Article in the News Books (entered in it) att the desire of Messrs. Browne and Spencer by the Wackanagur (or Intelligencer).

Messrs. Browne and Spencer who are Members in the Government of Calcutta whom the Governour Mr. Hedges hath sent hither They on the Day of Adaulatt (or Justice) declared that by the Order of his Imperiall Majestie whatever they bought or sold was exempted from Custome that the Nabab conformable to that order had given his Parwana for our free trade since which the Droga of the Custome house att Muxsoosavad took from their Factors (who had bought Silk and Sugar on their Account) Custome by force upon this they

writ a letter of request to the Nabab but his Officers throwing Obstacles in the way their Vackeil had not an opportunity to present itt for which reason all their Factors refuse to receive Impress money for goods for their expected Ships whose arrivall approaches that they were in hope this affaire being entered in the news Book, a Request will be made to the Nabob to exempt us (according to ancient usage) from Custome and that an Order will be issued forth for the restoreing what hath been taken from their Factors by force.

Upon this the Wackanagur entered in the News Book according to Information given, that if for the future the Droga of the Cuttchuray did not refraine from exacting Custome from the English (conformable to the Imperiall order, and the Duans Perwanna) and restore what he has hitherto violently exacted by obstructing the English affaires, great numbers of Merchants will suffer for in Stopping the English trade, all the trade of Bengall is stopt.

Theres likewise entered by the Sanwannagr* and Eckbarnavist in their News Books, an article of the same intent and meaning with the above written."

1025—THREE ROYAL RESCRPTS—June 10th, 1717.—
"Mr. Feake delivered a letter from Coja Surhaud in which He received three of the Kings Royall Phirmauns attested by the Cozzee of Dilly of Which He now gives us Two, One for Madrass, and One for Surat, the other for Bengall. He left att Cossimbuzar, He likewise delivered an Attestation under the Seals of the Swannagur Wackernagur, and the Herrcoradroga, Concerning the Cullundan Stoten from Contoo the Cassimbuzar Broker, in which were several Bills of Debt on the Company.

1061—PRESENTS FOR THE IMPERIAL OFFICERS—November 25th.—The Vaccanagur Swannagur Herrcora also the Cozzee's Naib, Musties Naib, and the Botard being come from Hugli to take Notice of the Ceremony's and Respect. We mett and received the Kings favours with It is necessary we give each

* "Sanwannagur" or more correctly "Sawannehnegaur" means A special correspondent or Reporter as distinguished from "Waqayanegaur" or general Reporter or Intelligencer. "Waqayanegauri" or "Waqayanevisi" was a different department from "Sawannehnegauri" or "Sawannehnevisi."

† *Eckbarnavis* is a subordinate post to *Wagdyanegaur*.

of them a present on this Occasion, to influence their giving a handsome account of it (to the Court).

All these authentic details clearly show that the Imperial News-agent or Reporter or Intelligencer was a powerful functionary in the Mogul *régime*.

The earliest distinct mention of ante-typographic newspapers is to be found in the *Muntakhabát-Al-Lubáb* of Khafi Khan where we find the death news of Raja Ram, of the House of Sivaji, brought to the Imperial Camp by the newspapers. The great historian also gives us clearly to understand that the common soldiers in Aurangzeb's time were supplied with their newspapers. We are told by the historian that Aurangzeb allowed great liberty to the Press in the matter of news. As an example he cites a case of a Bengal newspaper commenting rather severely on the matter of the Emperor's relation with his grandson Mirza Azim Oshan. In *Seir-ul-Mutagherin*, there is a mention made of Kaem Khan, son of Jafer Khan, head of the Post and Gazette Office. The Indu-French translator in a note* writes on the difference between the

* The note runs thus :—"The Vacaa-nuviss or Remembrancer, or Gazetteer, and the Savana-nuviss, or Historiographer, and the Harcara or Spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories, and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at daybreak such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established, that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to Court, where a Daroga or Inspector examined the same ; after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other than his own. It was perused by the Monarch himself, who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means the Emperor was informed of every private man's affairs. He knew what one had done to his neighbours at four hundred leagues from Court and what the latter had done to others ; and what such an one wanted from such. Another, and what this other pretended

two offices, which demonstrates the development of an institution as near our present Press. During the declining period of the Mogul Empire the manuscript Press continued their circulation. Thus we find British popular historians noticing that in the summer of 1792 the public newspapers of Delhi stated that the Emperor had expressed to Madhaji Sindhia and the Peshwa his hope that they would enable him to recover the imperial tribute from the Bengal Provinces.

Coming to the nineteenth century we find in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 15th April 1813—"the late Lahore *Ukhbars* are principally filled with details of the progress of the united army of Runjeet Singh and of Futteh Khan, Vizier of Kabul in the conquest of Cashmere." The same Gazette of 22nd April opens thus :—"The Hindustan newspapers received since our last publication remove all doubt as to the occupation of Attock by the forces of Runjeet Singh." These Panjabi newspapers show that in Mogul time the Press had struck root sufficiently and was so appreciated as an important agency for the supply of news that on the decay and destruction of the Mogul Empire, the journalists continued it on their own

from this antagonist ; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly. Nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a channel of the request and wishes of the concerned ones; nor at all extraordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court. So that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, sometime before they had agreed upon the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor's personal inspection only ; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, or any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes or with the Grandees of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connection with them; such a man was forthwith dismissed, and another appointed in his stead ; and to this purpose there are yet extant notes written by the Emperor Aoreng-Zib's hand, to his own Vezir, Assed-ghan; and here is a copy of one :
 COPY OF A NOTE OF AORENG-ZIB AALEM-GHIR TO HIS VEZIR—'My grandson,
 Mahmed-muez-eddin (he that reigned afterwards under the name of Djehandar-Shah)

account.* In this connection I wish to mention two famous men who were connected with journalism in the eighteenth century. One was Asaf Jah's minister,

has been writing to me to recommend N. N. Remembrancer, of such a province. Of course something must be done for him ; but yet, the man is to be dismissed from that office directly, that the Gazetteer may remember to write Gazettes no more.

As interest has taken place,
Abilities have been obscured ;
And a hundred sorts of films
Have covered his eyeballs.

But the answer he sent to that grandson himself, is still more curious. Here it is :—

“ Dutiful sons, that are acquainted with their father's temper, do not write recommendations in behalf of Gazetteers, and such sort of people. Your request is granted, and the man has been promoted accordingly ; but yet he has been dismissed from that office. Do not commit the like offence again. ”

“ In short, as amongst the arts of Government, information and knowledge of the state of the land and of its inhabitants hold a principal rank ; and the interest of the Legislators in gathering knowledge, is always to tranquillise and quiet the people of God, by whose providence the Princes and Rulers have come to have the command and power over them ; and as the happiness and ease of the subject is their main concern ; so to obtain the above end, no less than four persons have been appointed to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence, *to wit*, the Vacaay-nugar or Remembrancer, the Sevanah-nugar or Gazetteer, the Qhofiah-neviss or Secret-writer, and the Harcara or Spy, to the end, that should any one or any two of them attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated by comparing their information with the accounts by the two or three others is a discovery always followed by the disgrace of the faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honour and affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress. Now all those offices being suppressed it comes to pass that, not only in villages, but in towns, and in renowned cities, the servants, the favourites, the dependants, nay very often, the very spies and emissaries of a zemindar, having wriggled themselves into the service of Government, commit upon the inhabitants a variety of oppressions and exactions, and always with the utmost safety ; nor is there found a single man to ask them what they are doing ; so far from there being anyone to inflict a condign chastisement upon them. It is then worth an observer's while to examine what kind of Government existed thus and how matters stand now ; and what were the circumstances of the subject then and what they are to-day.” *Stir-Mutagherin*, Vol. III, pp. 173-175.

* On the surrender of the fortress of Agra to the British Army under the command of Lord Lake in the year 1803, among a good deal of treasure and much valuable property was a *printing press* with the types ready set for some Oriental production. Major William Yule of the Bengal Army, through his friend Lieutenant Arnold Nisbett Mathews of the Bengal Artillery got a proof-sheet of it containing six pages of the *Qoran*. The type was an excellent one and “ none as far as I can judge,” says Major Yule, “ none exists in Europe or elsewhere equal to it.” *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, May 1861.

Azim-ul-Omrah. He was originally a gentleman of the Press but rose in time to be prime minister of Asaf Jah. The other was Mirza Ali Beg—the Imperial Gazetteer (*Waqānegaur*)—the *Doyen* of journalists throughout the empire. This officer was in constant attendance upon His Majesty. In his time the official intelligencer in Guzerat was Abdul Jaleel, a Syed of Belgram, who was also paymaster of the forces in that important province.*

The Press, as we now find it in India, is an essentially European institution. It followed missionaries rather than merchants. The first book printed by Europeans in any part of Asia, was produced at *Goa* in 1556, two generations before it noted, after Vasco da Gama reached Calicut by the Cape. This was the *Catechism of Doctrine* of St. Francis Xavier. There was another press worked by Portuguese missionaries in 1577 at Ambalacatta which produced books in Malayam. Colombo, though on the oldest Eastern trade route, had no press till 1737. Bombay got the printing press in 1674† when Mr. Henry Hills was sent

* The foregoing paragraphs are the barest summary of a long note on Indian journalism in Hindu and Mahomedan times, which I hope to publish in full on a future occasion.

† On the 9th January 1690 the following letter was addressed by the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay to the Court of Directors in London : “ Bhinjee Parrack (Parakh) makes his humble request to you that you would please to send out an able printer to Bombay, for that he hath a curiosity and earnest inclination to have some of the Brahmini writings in print : and for the said Printer’s encouragement he is willing to allow him £50 sterling a year for three years and also to be at the charges of tools and instruments necessary for him. And in case that will not be sufficient he humbly refers it to your Prudence to agree with the said Printer according as you shall see good and promises to allow what you shall consider. ’Tis not improbable that this curiosity of his may tend to a common good and by the industry of some searching spirits produce discoveries out of those or other ancient manuscripts of these parts which may be useful or at least grateful to Posterity.” The letter of a request for the printer who was to save “ the Brahmini writing ” from oblivion, reaching London after many months, was warmly welcomed by the Directors who replied on the 3rd April 1674, that they had “ engaged Mr. Henry Hills a Printer for the Island of Bombay at a salary of £50 per annum and had despatched

out by the Court of Directors at a salary of £50 per annum with a printing press, types and considerable quantity of paper. Printing was practised at Madras in 1772, and an official printing press was established at Calcutta in 1779 under the direction of Mr. Wilkins* (or Sir Charles as he afterwards became). In the previous year, 1778, Mr. Wilkins printed at Hooghli in Bengali character, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language* † For convenience of treatment, the history of the Press of Bengal is taken up first, after which will follow that of Bombay, Madras

him in one of their ships with a printing press, type and considerable quantity of paper." The whole cost of the business was, they added, to be charged to Bhimjee. But whereas the Banis's sole object was the publication and conservation of the ancient scriptures of the East, the Directors who were deeply imbued with the religious sentiments of Puritan England, desired to make use of the press to "propagate our religion whereby souls may be gained as well as estates." On Mr. Hills' arrival Bhimjee suffered some disappointment, for the type which the former brought with him was, like himself, purely Western; and apparently, though a skilled printer, he was far from being a type founder. It was not until eight years later that the Directors realised that the religious love of the Gentoos or Gentiles might possess an antiquarian if not a spiritual value; and decided to send out a type founder "to cut the Banian letters."

* Sir Charles Wilkins was the father of native typography in Bengal. When he commenced the study of Eastern Languages, the means of printing in any Oriental character did not exist. He determined to create them. He could not have been much beyond the age of twenty-five when he set to work, and with his own hands fabricated the first fount of types in the Bengalee character, and it was with these types that Halhed's Bengalee Grammar was printed at Hugli in the year 1778. He at the same time instructed a native blacksmith of the name of Panchanun, in this difficult art. Punchanun on the arrival of the Missionaries at Serampore in 1799 hearing that they proposed to commence printing in the native languages came and offered his services, and executed for them the fount of Bengalee in which the first edition of the Bengalee New Testament was printed, and the Devanagree types used in printing Dr. Carey's Sanskrit Grammar. There is a remarkable similarity in the shape of Panchanun's Bengalee type, and that cut by Sir Charles Wilkins. Panchanun died about the year 1802, but not before he had fully instructed in this useful art, a native of the name of Manohar, who, during his life, executed more than twenty-thousand punches for the Serampur Press in the various characters prevalent in Asia. The punch-cutters who now labour in Calcutta are all Manohar's disciples.

† For further information, the reader is asked to read the late Dr. Richard Garnett's "Introduction of European Printing into the East," a paper of the transactions of the Second International Library Conference.

and the North-Western Provinces including the Panjab.

The introduction of the Press in Bengal was not effected by those who had built slowly the magnificent empire which we now admire as a miracle, but by a band of adventurous men who were allured to this country in the expectation of shaking the "Pagoda Tree." When the great Corporation were still insecure in their territorial possessions, Mr. Bolts* affixed to the door of the Council House and other public places the following notice for advertisements in Calcutta in September 1768† :—

"TO THE PUBLIC

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being of

* Mr. William Bolts was born about 1740 ; was a merchant of Dutch extraction ; being in Calcutta in 1759 was taken into the E. I. Co.'s service : engaged in private trade like other civil servants : became an Alderman or Judge of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta : was second in Council at Benares in 1764 : being censured by the Court of Directors for his private trading under the Company's authority and recalled, resigned in 1766 : then practised as a Counsel in the Mayor's Court : quarrelled with the Bengal Authorities, was arrested in 1768 as an interloper and deported to England ; published an important work called *Considerations on Indian Affairs* about 1770 : in 1772 brought out its second edition in which he bitterly attacked the Bengal Authorities in the Preface for his deportation and sufferings : Governor Verelst replied, and Bolts published another edition of his book as a reply in 1775 : made a large fortune in India by private trade, but could not take it away : spent much in his defence of the law suits brought against him by the E. I. Co. for some years : entered Austrian service : became a Colonel and founded stations in India for an Austrian Company: these came to nothing : died in Paris in 1808.

† This date (1768) seems to me to be incorrect, as Mr. Bolts was ordered to be deported from Calcutta in 1767. Though he could not be actually deported from India he was forced to fly to Chinsurah, then a Dutch Settlement, whence he defied the Company's orders for deportation. In the Rev. Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*, there are two selections from the Records of 1767—915 [Proceedings, November 5th, 1767]—938—[Letter to Court of Directors, December 10th 1767, para. 75] in which we find Bolts still at Chinsurah defying the orders of the Bengal Authorities. It may be 1766. Mr. Beveridge in No. CLXIII. of the *Calcutta Review*, p. 129, says that Mr. Bolts was deported in September 1876.

great disadvantage in business and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community, as is of the utmost importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce. In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the public that having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudable motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolts's house to read or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours of from ten to twelve any morning."

But Mr. Bolts's idea of setting up a printing press in Calcutta for publishing a newspaper was not carried out as he had to leave the country very soon under penalty, as the following extract, from the *Proceedings* of the Select Committee of the Council at Fort William, dated 18th April 1767, will show :—

" That Mr. Bolts having on this and many other occasions endeavoured to draw an odium upon the administration and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement, has rendered himself unworthy of any further indulgence from the Committee and of the Company's protection. That therefore he be directed to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras on the first ship that shall sail from that Presidency in the month of July next in order to take his passage from thence to Europe in September. "

This forcible deportation shelved Mr. Bolts's idea of publishing a newspaper in Calcutta for at least twelve years more when it found a redoubtable champion again in a Mr. James Augustus Hicky, about whose personality

we know almost nothing.* He started on Saturday, 29th January, 1780, *the Bengal Gazette*, the first Indian newspaper, which announced itself as "A weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none." It consisted of two sheets about twelve inches by eight, three columns of 'printed matter on each side, much of which was devoted to advertisements: the

* Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* thus writes about James Augustus Hicky:—The proprietor was a Mr. James Augustus Hicky who was probably a printer by trade and had come out from England possibly under engagement from the India House as in one of his early addresses to the public (a form of communication in which he was fond of indulging) he describes himself as the "first and the late printer to the Honourable Company" and in another as "free of the Printers and Stationers Company in London." Judging from his editorial notices which affect a high moral aim and are variegated with lofty maxims and saucy roughness, he was a very illiterate man. At one critical period of his newspaper, he informs the public how he took such an enterprise in hand, but his explanation does not go back to his European antecedents, but starts with his being locally engaged in a trading and ship-owning venture. He then states that in the years 1775-76 he met with many very heavy losses by sea—that in the latter year his vessel returned to Calcutta with her cargo damaged, while a bond of his became due for some four thousand rupees. To meet this he offered his all, two thousand rupees, but "the black Bengal merchants proved inflexible." Finally he gave up his vessel, cargo, and all his household effects to his creditors and in October, 1776, "delivered up his person at the jail of Calcutta to free his bail, and for the first time in all his life entered the walls of a prison." How he got out again he does not say, but he next appears "striking out a plan of industry to maintain his family and work for his creditors instead of giving himself up to melancholy reflections and indulgence. At this he laboriously continued with fair encouragement from several gentlemen of the Settlement for two years and then ventured further in the same direction "although" he explained, "I have no particular passion for printing of newspapers, I have no propensity; I was not bred to a slavish life of hard work, yet I take a pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for my mind and soul." The result of this magnanimity was the publication of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*. There is a mutilated file of this newspaper in the Calcutta Imperial Library (formerly Calcutta Public Library) from its commencement down to 102nd No., dated January 5th, 1782, and there is still a better copy, though also incomplete, in the British Museum, which bears this entry on the fly-leaf, "from March, 1780, to March, 1782, The Day the Types were seized by Order," but which really begins from April 1st, 1780 and ends on March 23rd 1782. Professor H. Morse Stephens of California University has secured a set of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* from No. 1 of January 29th 1780 to No. 102 of January 5th 1782. For the information given about the *Bengal Gazette*, I am greatly indebted to Mr. H. E. Busteed and his valuable book, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 3rd edition.

greater portion of the small budget was made up of correspondence from local and distant contributors and occasional extracts from the news last received from Europe. The paper and printing were very poor. It was the first newspaper printed or published in India.

When permission was sought from the Governor-General and his Council, it was generously accorded to Mr. Hicky in the belief that the publication of a newspaper in Calcutta would materially contribute to the conveniences of its population. And if the conductor of the paper continued it as he began it, the *Bengal Gazette* might have grown in time into an indispensable factor of Calcutta public life, but all these pleasant expectations were shattered when Mr. Hicky took to catering for the lowest tastes. Not only in Calcutta, but even in distant provinces, the people grew impatient at Hicky's abuse as the following extract from a letter written by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse,* and dated the 21st April 1781, to the Governor-General from the Ganjam District of Madras, shows :—

" But I really wonder at your patience in suffering such a man as Hicky to publish loads of abuse every Saturday : we did not get the paper here nor have we for these six weeks, but we hear of his abuse from other quarters with the same expression of astonishment. It is true the man himself is not the author, but some pitiful fellow who dares not avow his insolence and wishes to stab in the dark. Yet still such a thing as that Gazette in such a place as this is not allowable : and such, good Sir, was my opinion when you too readily agreed to the first publication of a newspaper. I then told you

* This extract is taken from Colonel Pearse's life in the *Military Repository*. Colonel Pearse was Warren Hastings' second in the Famous Duel with Sir Philip Francis. For an account of the Colonel's life, see Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography.

that the year would not pass before it became the channel of personal and public abuse and so it is."

Long before this letter was received by the Governor-General, he himself became indignant at the scurrility hurled against Mrs. Hastings and promulgated the following order of Government:—

Fort William, 14th November 1780.—“ Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, printed by J. A. Hicky, has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office.”

This order, of course, stopped the circulation of the “unscrupulous” journal to places beyond Calcutta, but allowed its full and unrestricted despatch within the town. Nothing daunted at the action of the Government which caused him an immediate loss of four hundred rupees, Hicky made his paper all the more abusive. Through hired peons* he arranged to circulate his paper to the neighbouring places of Calcutta, such as Burdwan, Hooghly, Olubaria, etc., etc. Persons of official and social position were assailed in terms of malicious hostility, and even ladies in society were not spared. But Hastings and Impey were, above all others, the target for Hicky’s boisterous mockery. And bitterly did they pay him out when the time came to strike. In various ways Hicky abused the Governor-General and insulted Mrs. Hastings. Mr. Hastings, of whose few faults one of the most prominent was that he never forgave, at last came down upon the scandal-monger and

* Rev. J. Long, in his “*Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century ago,*” says “Hickey (*sic*) employed 20 hurkarras (peons) to distribute his paper.”

smashed both the paper and the publisher. In June 1781 an armed band, consisting of several Europeans, some sepoys, and between three or four hundred peons, came to arrest Hicky under an order from the Chief Justice at the suit of the Governor. His gate having been battered in with a sledge hammer, he sallied out on them with his arms, and refusing to be forcibly taken away, undertook to attend the Judge in Court on being shown a legal authority for his arrest. The Court having adjourned before he got there, that same day he was lodged in jail and the next morning before the Supreme Court "two indictments were read out to him on the prosecution of Warren Hastings, Esq." Bail for forty thousand rupees for his appearance to each of them was demanded ; he offered all that he could muster, namely, five thousand, which was refused, and he was accordingly remanded to jail to prepare his defence as best as he could.

The object of sending Hicky to jail and confining him there was, no doubt, to extinguish his paper, but in this it failed, for Hicky continued to edit his *Bengal Gazette* in jail with no falling off in the punctuality of its appearance and no change in the style of its matter. The same abusive tone was vigorously maintained: In January 1782 the plaintiff, Warren Hastings, returned to Calcutta after some months' absence in the North-Western Provinces, and the *Bengal Gazette* was found to make the following announcement:—

"In January 1782 was tried before Sir E. Impey an action brought by Warren Hastings, Esq., against J. A. Hicky on the same indictment on which the said Warren Hastings had the said J. A. Hicky tried and found guilty at the Assizes last June, and for which the said J. A. Hicky was sentenced to remain one year in prison and pay a fine of 2,000 rupees to the said Warren Hastings

who has on Wednesday last had damages given him by Sir E. Impey to the very heavy sum of 5,000 sicca rupees which with the fine of June amount to 7,000 rupees, with a long confinement of one year in jail in this dangerous and scorching climate."

But even this did not discourage Hicky from continuing his paper, but made him more bold in attacking his wrong-doer. Hastings too was relentless in his persecutions of Hicky whom we see, early in March 1782, making the following announcement :—

" Mr. Hicky addresses his citizens and fellow subjects with heartfelt joy, and tells them that on 7th March (1782) the King's judges inclined to admit him to plead *in forma pauperis* in defending four fresh actions brought him this term by Warren Hastings, Esq.; and that Mr. Counsellor Davis (for plaintiff) did make a motion and plea in bar of Mr. Hicky's types being exempted from seizure, setting forth that the said printing types did constitute and form a great part of Mr. Hicky's property and hoped their Lordships would not protect the said types from being seized upon should judgment be obtained against him. This motion the honourable the King's judges strongly opposed as repugnant to the British Legislature and constitution and treated it with the contempt it so very justly merited. Thus by protecting the types, they have protected the liberty of the subject and the liberty of the press."

In the next number he makes the following appeal to the public :—

" A scene of continued tyranny and oppression for two years having reduced Mr. Hicky very much in his circumstances, involved him more in debt and injured his business very considerably, though he is still immured in a jail where he has been these nine long months

separated from his family and friends, at the suit of Warren Hastings, Esq., and where he still expects to remain, as the said Warren Hastings has brought no less than six fresh actions against him this term, etc."

But the types and the press were seized soon after by the order of the Supreme Court, and the first Indian newspaper was strangled.*

When Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* was scarcely two months' old, a rival paper, the *India Gazette* † by name

* The ill-fated proprietor and editor remained in jail whence he appealed to the Judges of the Supreme Court for mercy. On 17th January 1783, he addressed the Chief Justice as follows :—

" I have now been confined in this jail upwards of nineteen long months and nine long months of that time have been deprived of the means of earning one rupee for the support of my family, entirely owing to the seizure of the implements and tools of my profession, and not being able to pay the rent of a small brickhouse for my children to live in, they have been, until the Christmas holidays, immured in jail with myself. You, Sir, who have many fine children of your own (God bless them) cannot be at a loss in forming an idea what the feelings of a tender father must be who daily beholds his little innocent children pining away under the contaminated air of a filthy jail, *who has the inclination but not power to relieve them*. Yet great and afflicting as those hardships really have been and still will continue to be, I have never complained of them, nor do I complain of them now; my only motive for this short description being to prove to your Lordship that these afflictions are full sufficient for me to bear without having them wantonly aggravated by a man to whom I never gave the least offence."

In the following August (1783) he writes from the Birjee Jail and says that he had been "already two years in jail, during sixteen months of which he had been deprived of the means of earning a rupee for the support of his family, twelve in number, whose only subsistence was derived from the production of a few bills which happily he had by him." But all his 'peals for mercy from jail were of no avail. Most probably he served the full term of his imprisonment and was released. In the miscellaneous correspondence of Warren Hastings as preserved in the British Museum, there are two letters dated 1793 and 1800 respectively from James Augustus Hicky from which we learn that the father of the First Indian Newspaper was still at Calcutta in 1800, his family still too young to work and with no prospect but that of begging their bread in the streets. In 1800 Hicky invited Warren Hastings to do something for him and his family preferably by getting him the post of Deputy to the Clerk of the Calcutta Market. The curious reader should go through Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* for the Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper, Chapter VIII.

† This paper was nicknamed by Hicky the *Monitorial Gazette* in allusion to a weekly contribution in it addressed, as all letters were, to " Mr. Monitor " which

(a well printed paper of four pages, each about sixteen inches long, divided into three columns), was started in November, 1780, by Mr. Peter Reed (a salt agent) and Mr. B. Messinck, who was connected with theatrical speculation or proprietorship. It was a weekly paper set up with the object of counteracting the evils Hicky was sowing in society. The type for its production was got by purchase from the venerable missionary Kiernander; within two years, *i.e.*, in 1782, Mr. Peter Reed withdrew from the joint undertaking of the *India Gazette*, whose place was filled up by Mr. Charles Johnston.* After the *India Gazette*, the following papers slowly cropped up in the Settlement:—The *Calcutta Gazette* † (under the avowed patronage of Government, and as such, exempted from postage) 4th March 1784; the *Bengal Journal*,

went on for sometime. Rev. J. Long, in his *Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century Ago*, describes the *Monitorial Gazette* as a separate paper from the *India Gazette*. This is an error. Dr. Busteed, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* has not contradicted Rev. Long.

Mr. Thomas, the first Baptist missionary in Bengal, finding no religious people in Calcutta in 1783, advertised for a Christian thus on 1st November 1783 in the *India Gazette*:—

Religious Society. “A plan is now forming for the more effectually spreading the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and his glorious Gospel in and about Bengal: any serious persons of any denomination, rich or poor, high or low, who would heartily approve of, join in or gladly forward such an undertaking are hereby invited to give a small testimony of their inclination, that they may enjoy the satisfaction of forming a communion, the most useful, the most comfortable and the most exalted, in the world. Direct for A. B. C. to be left with the Editor.”

* Author of the novel *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea*. In 1782 he set out for India and after being shipwrecked on the way, arrived in Calcutta where he acquired a fortune by private trade. He was a regular writer to the Press under the nom-de-plume, “Onciropolos.” He died in Calcutta in 1800.

† In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th March 1784, the following appears:—
Official, Thursday, 11th March, 1784. The Honorable the Governor-General and Council having permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority, the Heads of Offices are hereby required to issue all such Advertisements or Publications as may be ordered on the part of the Honorable Company, through the channel of this paper.

Fort William } W. Bruare, Secretary.
9th February 1784,

February 1785 ; the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusement*, 6th April 1785, a monthly paper, in the first number of which is given an elegant engraving of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings with some account of his life and transactions ; the *Calcutta Chronicle* January 1786. But I shall deal separately with each of these newspapers after finishing the general survey. In this introductory portion I wish to set forth in detail the relation of the Press with the ruling authorities.

It does not appear that, previously to 1799, there were uniform and consistent rules established in the three Presidencies (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) for guiding the conduct of the editors of newspapers or for restraining and punishing their excesses. Taking a retrospect of the measures, whether penal or precautionary, which the successive local governments took with the sanction of the authorities at home, it seems that before the year 1799 it was deemed expedient to resort to precautionary measures as particular cases arose without promulgating general rules for the conductors of newspapers. I have shown what measures were resorted to by Warren Hastings for bringing Hicky to punishment. Hicky's incarceration in jail and his complete discomfiture were enough to bring his other contemporaries to their senses. From 1780 to 1790 I have not been able to find the Government taking any measures, either penal or precautionary, to check any excesses on the part of newspaper editors or proprietors. From 1791 to 1799 several excesses occurred in the Calcutta Press, and I enumerate below the various measures the Government took to punish them.

In 1791, an American named William Duane was arrested by the Bengal Government and ordered

to be sent to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph which appeared in the *Bengal Journal* (established in February 1785) reflecting upon Colonel De Canaple, Commandant of the affairs of the French Nation (as he was styled) and his countrymen then residing in Calcutta. Mr. Duane, on that occasion, applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* which was granted. The writ having been served upon the acting town-major of Calcutta it was stated, in the return annexed thereto, that the Governor-General in Council* had ordered the arrest of Mr. Duane, with a view to his being sent to Europe; that the Governor-General in Council possessed the legal right to issue and enforce such orders and that in obedience thereto, Mr. Duane had been seized and was then detained in legal custody of the acting town-major. After a long and elaborate argument upon the validity of this return, the judges of the Supreme Court came to a solemn and unanimous decision recognising the right asserted by the Government; and Mr. Duane, who had been brought to Court was remanded to the custody of the town-major. In consequence of the intercession of Mr. Fumeron, the French Agent, Government was induced to revoke its order for the embarkation of Mr. Duane; but that person having afterwards published in a paper called the *Indian World*, of which he was editor, a number of improper and intemperate articles and particularly an inflammatory address to the army, he was again arrested and sent to Europe in the end of 1794 †.

* Lord Cornwallis.

† The late Mr. William Digby writing in the *Calcutta Review*, No. cxxiv, Vol. lxii (1876) thus refers to Dr. Duane and his deportation :—

“The history of the *Indian World*, a newspaper started in 1794 by an Irish-American named William Duane, showed the contempt with which newspaper editors were treated in those days. Mr. Duane had made all arrangements to sell his paper

Two years after, in 1796, the editor of a Calcutta paper called *The Telegraph*, incurred the displeasure of Government, by inserting in his journal an article imputing to a gentleman in office, the extortion of the enormous *batta*,* taken by the Shroffs of Calcutta on the exchange of gold mohurs for silver. The editor, Mr. Holt M'Kenly, having been called upon to explain on what grounds the assertion contained in the paragraph had been made, replied that the paragraph had been

on 1st January 1795; and though he was not assailing the Government at that period, opportunity was taken to show him how heavily the hand of the ruler could smite. On the 27th December 1794, he was requested by the Private Secretary of Sir John Shore (then acting as Governor-General of India) Captain Collins, to call at Government House. Duane, conscious of no particular offence, thought this was an invitation to breakfast at the Governor-General's table, given because he was about to leave the country and was prompt in answering the summons. The following discussion ensued at Captain Collins meeting M₁. Duane in the room :—

Captain Collins—I am glad you are so punctual, Mr. Duane.

Mr. Duane—I generally am, Sir. I hope the Governor-General is well.

Captain Collins—He is not to be seen and—

Mr. Duane—I understood I was invited by him.

Captain Collins—Yes, Sir, I am directed by the Governor-General to inform you that you are to consider yourself a State prisoner.

A number of soldiers at a given signal, burst upon the scene and with drawn bayonets surrounded Mr. Duane who saw through an open door the Governor-General and two members of the Supreme Council sitting on a sofa.

Mr. Duane—I did not think, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) or you, Sir, (turning to Captain Collins) could be so base and treacherous as to proceed, or even to think as you do.

Captain Collins—Silence, Sir. (To the soldiers) : Drag him along.

Mr. Duane—(to the soldiers), Softly, my friends, I shall go along with you. (To Collins) : What is to follow next, Collins, the bowstring or the scimitar?

Captain Collins—You are insolent, Sir, (To the soldiers) : Drag him along, you pig-eating scoundrels.

Mr. Duane—You are performing the part of Grand Vizier now, my little gentleman, and those are your mates. Calcutta is become Constantinople and the Governor-General the Grand Turk.

Under strict guard, strongly armed, Mr. Duane was kept in Fort William for three days and then taken on board an armed Indiaman and conveyed to England where he was set free without a single word of information and explanation. His property in India, of which he never received a pice, was worth about fifty thousand dollars. He afterwards went to Philadelphia, became editor of *Aurora*, and made that paper intensely anti-British."

* A kind of discount levied on exchange.

inserted on the authority of Mr. Hair. Mr. Hair on being required to furnish explanations and also to name the gentleman alluded to, denied being the author of the offensive paragraph and there the matter seemed to have been allowed to rest.

In the same year, 1796, a paragraph having appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* relative to certain communications which had been passed between the Court of Directors and the French Republic, the editor was admonished of the impropriety of inserting such observation in a paper published under the sanction of Government; but, on Mr. Horsey, the then editor, asking pardon and promising to abstain in future from inserting such articles, no further proceeding was adopted.

In 1798 in consequence of a letter which appeared in *The Telegraph* under the signature of "Mentor," tending to excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army, the Bengal Government was induced to take measures for discovering the author of the letter; and it having been found to have been written by Captain Williamson, he was suspended from the Company's Service and the Court of Directors subsequently refused to comply with his request for leave to return to India, though they permitted him to retire with the half-pay of his rank.

In the same year, 1798, a letter having appeared in the *The Telegraph* signed "Charles M'Lean" * animadverting on the official conduct of Mr. Rider, the

* Charles Maclean ; born about 1768 ; studied medicine ; entered the E. I. Co.'s service ; made several voyages to India in East Indiamen ; was in medical practice in Calcutta in 1792 ; in 1798 ordered by the Governor-General Marquess of Wellesley to leave India for the above offence ; resigned the service of Government ; in 1806, bitterly attacked Lord Wellesley ; became a lecturer on the diseases of hot climates to the E. I. Co. ; opposed the Government project of opening trade to India ; attacked quarantine laws ; wrote on medical subjects ; died about 1824.

Magistrate of Gazeepur, both the editor and Mr. M'Lean were called upon by the Government to apologize for publishing the article in question. The editor complied, but Mr. M'Lean refused. The latter was, for this act of contumacy and his previous misconduct in quitting the ship to which he had been attached and remaining in India without permission, sent to Europe.

In 1799, the editor of *The Telegraph* was called upon by the Government publicly to apologize for some very indecent reflection which had appeared in his paper on the Clerk of the Post Office. The above instances make it clear now what was the attitude of the Government towards the Calcutta Press a century ago and what amount of liberty it enjoyed in those early days.

In this year, 1799, partly, in consequence of the number of improper paragraphs which had appeared in the newspapers, and partly owing to the outbreak of the third Mysore War, for which Lord Wellesley was obliged to come down in Viceregal State to Madras to organise the expedition in person and to watch over the course of events, the Bengal Government, for the first time, laid down the following regulations for the public press on the 13th May 1799 :—

1st.—Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

2nd.—Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to the Government.

3rd.—No paper to be published on Sunday.

4th.—No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose.

5th.—The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

By the fourth regulation Lord Wellesley established for the first time, a censorship over the Press.

These regulations were officially communicated to the proprietors and editors of the then existing papers, namely, (1) *Hirkarrah**, (2) *Morning Post*, (3) *Calcutta Courier*, (4) *Telegraph*, (5) *Oriental Star*, (6) *India Gazette*, (7) *Asiatic Mirror*, who severally addressed the Government, promising strict compliance therewith. The regulations were extended to other papers as they started.

John Clark Marshman, in his *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*† thus graphically describes the relation of the Calcutta Press with Lord Wellesley :—

“Lord Wellesley was at this time‡ exasperated beyond measure against the press of Calcutta, and had adopted measures of restraint of such extreme harshness as even the difficulties of his political position were scarcely sufficient to palliate. On the coast he was engaged in the final struggle with Tippoo Sultan, while the other country powers were in comparative vigour and wavering in their sentiment regarding the British Government. He therefore regarded, with extreme sensitiveness, any remarks in the public

* When the *Bengal Hurkaru* was started as a weekly paper in 1794 by Hugh Boyd, one of the supposed authors of the *Letters of Junius*, a supposition which he never positively contradicted, it was spelt as *Hircarrah*. In the beginning of 1794 he Master Attendant at Madras paid a flying visit to Calcutta and laid the foundation of the paper which under his successors, became the most powerful public organ in India. In the appendix, I shall give a full and complete history of this paper. In 1819 when it became a daily it was called the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

† *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward.* Embracing the history of the Serampur Mission. 2 vols. 859.

‡ About 1801.

journals, which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of our rule in the East. Mr. Bruce,* the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who has ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith, and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article 'mischievous,' and in his anxiety that the 'public security' as he said 'might not be exposed to constant hazard,' he directed Sir Alured Clarke,† whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the "first-ship which might sail from Calcutta; adding, 'if you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe.' At the same time he established a very rigid censorship of the Press, and directed that no paper should be allowed to appear until it had been revised by the Secretary to Government, who was desired to expunge whatever appeared to him likely 'to endanger the public tranquillity.' The penalty of any offence against these stern regulations (given above) was immediate deportation to England. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was drafted without any loss of time for transmission to India. But it had to pass the ordeal of the Board of Control, and the President ‡ drew his fatal red

* John Bruce, author of the *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*. 3 vols. 1810.

† Commander-in-Chief.

‡ The Right Hon'ble H. Dundas.

mark across the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, and when the rust of Oriental despotism had been rubbed off by the friction of constitutional associations, he fixed his own condemnation on these arbitrary regulations, by directing them to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, * published under his own superintendence. But the period to which we refer—November 1799—these feelings of exasperation and dread regarding the press were in full force, and it was at this inauspicious juncture that the missionaries (Carey, Thomas, Brunsdon, and Ward) sought permission to establish a press in the interior of the country,† two hundred miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal."

At the height of his exasperation with the Calcutta Press, Lord Wellesley prepared a plan in 1801 on behalf of the Bengal Government for the establishment of a Government printing press to print an official gazette accompanied with a newspaper, containing articles of intelligence and private advertisements, the latter to be published under the inspection of Government, but not to be considered, like the Gazette, as an official communication. His Lordship, in a despatch, alleged the following as the grounds for his proposition :—

"In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favour of the proposed establishment. The increase of

* In 1837 when Messrs. W. Allen and Company brought out an edition of Lord Wellesley's Official Despatches in 5 volumes under the authority of the Court of Directors, the great Marquess directed the editor of his despatches to exclude his despatch on the Indian Press from the collection as it was done under irritation and without judgment.

† At Malda, where Carey first settled with other missionaries in the estate of George Udny the Indigo planter.

private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences ; of this, sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the public and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence, a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a Press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those who now exist and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future."

This was the special pleading of Lord Wellesley for the establishment of a Government organ like the French *Moniteur*, but the plan was not carried out into execution on account of the expense with which it was supposed that it would be attended.* During Lord Wellesley's administration, several Calcutta newspapers received rebuffs of which the following are known from authentic records.

In 1801, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was prohibited from publishing any military orders, Army List, book or pamphlet, relative to the numbers or situation of the army, without the immediate sanction of Government : and the editors of the other papers were prohibited from publishing any military order except such as had previously appeared in the *Gazette* (Calcutta) and from publishing Army List, etc., without the permission of Government. In the next year, 1802, the editors

* For a similar reason Lord Wellesley's plan of establishing the Fort William College, for educating the young civilians did not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. Wellesley was highly irritated by this refusal of his masters, but was obliged to submit quietly to the controlling authority of the Court of Directors as a testimony of the obedience due to the superior power placed by law in the Government at home.

of all newspapers were prohibited, during the second Mahratta War (1802-1804) from publishing any articles of intelligence respecting the departure of ships. In 1804, the editor of the *India Gazette* was directed not to publish, during the war, any naval or shipping intelligence whatever, excepting such as had appeared in the first instance, in the *Calcutta Gazette* under the sanction of Government.

In June, 1807, the editors of the newspapers were censured for having published, without authority, intelligence respecting His Majesty's fleet in India, the same being contrary to the orders of Government. The editors were again directed not to insert articles of this kind, unless they had previously appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* or had been otherwise duly authorised by the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India. Any deviation from these orders in future it was signified to them, would incur the displeasure of Government. The Governors of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales' Island, were requested to issue similar orders to the editors of the several newspapers at those places respectively. In this year, the editor * of the *India Gazette* was desired to state why he had issued a number of his papers without having previously submitted the proof-sheets for the inspection of Government and directed not to send it out of Calcutta.

Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Wellesley as Governor-General of India in 1807, was as sensitive to newspaper criticisms as his great predecessor. During his administration the Calcutta editors were frequently warned. In 1808, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was censured for having omitted during several weeks to submit proof-sheets of his paper for inspection

* Mr. Herbert Compton (afterwards knighted) of the Bombay High Court.

previously to publication. Various articles having been inserted during that period which were deemed particularly improper and objectionable in a paper published under the express authority of Government, the editor was directed, for the future, invariably to send his proof-sheets for revision and to include therein every article, as well of intelligence as of other matter intended for publication. The editor expressed his regret at having inadvertently omitted to send the proof-sheets for inspection and promised greater regularity in future.

In 1811, the proprietors of all the presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were directed to cause the names of the printers to be affixed to all works, papers, advertisements, etc., printed at or issued from those presses, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government. In the year 1811, Lord Minto called upon the missionaries of Serampur who had a printing press there, to use more caution in their proceedings and utterances, inviting them to remove their printing works from Serampur and establish themselves in Calcutta. The object was to bring them directly under the control of the British Government as Serampur then was a Danish settlement. Lord Minto was greatly alarmed at the publication of their religious pamphlets in which attacks were made on the belief of Hindus and Moslems. The Vellore Mutiny partly caused by the circulation of indiscreet publications rendered Lord Minto very sensitive, and his Lordship pronounced one of these missionary publications of Serampur "extremely scurrilous." But the good Missionaries of Serampur replied by pointing out to his Lordship that the proposed transfer of their business and plants would cause them great inconvenience and expense, which they represented as unnecessary promising that no further publications should be issued

before being submitted for the approval of Government. Lord Minto, however, generously accepted the compromise.

In 1812, the editor of the *Calcutta Daily Advertiser* was censured, at the instance of the Adjutant-General for having inserted an advertisement, "having for its object to expose to public ridicule, a respectable officer in the Company's service." The re-insertion of the advertisement, and of the correspondence to which it referred, was prohibited; and this opportunity was taken for directing all advertisements to be submitted for the inspection of Government previously to publication, in like manner with other articles. The editor apologised for the insertion of the objectionable advertisement, but remarked on the great inconvenience which would be occasioned if all advertisements were to be submitted for the previous inspection of Government, suggesting the limitation of the orders of Government to such advertisements as were of a doubtful nature and the exemption from their operation of those which had clearly for their objects, sale, purchase, hire and notices in general. Government acknowledged the justice of this representation and agreed to modify their orders accordingly.

In 1813, the last year of Lord Minto's administration in India, Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Tytler* complained to Government of a libel having been published against him in the *Bengal Hirkarrah*.† The offensive article was in consequence represented to the proprietors as highly improper, and they were desired to explain why the publication had not been submitted to Government prior to the circulation of 150 copies. The proprietors‡

* Afterwards became the Principal Professor of the Calcutta Hindu College. For an account of his life, see *India Review*, Vol. III.

† See note *ante*.

‡ Messrs. Samuel Greenway and Company.

stated, in reply, that they were not aware that Government required papers of a private nature (where parties took the responsibility on themselves) to be submitted for previous inspection, but promised more strict attention to the injunction in future.

In October 1813, Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Hastings. The new Governor-General, soon after his landing in Calcutta, enforced new rules in addition to old ones instituted by Lord Wellesley for the controlling of printing offices in Calcutta. On the 16th October of the same year, 1813, the following rules were established for the control of the printing offices in Calcutta :—

- I. That the proof-sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision.
- II. That all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications, be in like manner, previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision.
- III. That the titles of all original works, proposed to be published, be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper.
- IV. The rules established on the 13th May 1799 and the 6th August 1801 to be in full force and effect except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions.

The Charter of 1813 empowered the Home Government to license a certain number of Christian teachers to set sail for and dwell in the territories of the Hon'ble East India Company. This was a God-send to Calcutta journalism. The same ship which conveyed the first Bishop of the Indian Episcopate, carried also the senior Scotch Chaplain. Dr. James Bryce, the great Scotch

controversialist, on arrival in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814, became the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, then the only paper in Calcutta remarkable for its independence. With a first-class European reputation for scholarship and a strong Scotch party behind his back, he commenced his operation in Calcutta journalism, vigorously attacking the censor for his repressive policy and setting his authority at defiance. If Lord Hastings' Administration marked a new era in the affairs of British India, Dr. Bryce's advent might be said to have been accompanied by a radical change in the powers and attributes of the Indian Press. The new Governor-General was naturally inclined towards the liberty of the Press, and privately encouraged the Scotch Chaplain to be independent of the ignoble manner by which the great Company sought to disregard the legitimate uses of the Press.

Within a very short time of his assuming the editorial charge of the *Asiatic Mirror*, Dr. Bryce had to fight with the censor. On the 4th April, 1815, the editor * of the *Asiatic Mirror* at the recommendation of the Adjutant-General, was censured for having inserted in that paper a statement of the formation of three new regiments, with their allotment of officers, such a measure being at that time only under the consideration of Government. The editor begged to decline naming the mercantile firm from which he had obtained the information, stating

* Dr. James Bryce succeeded Mr. John Fullarton as editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*. Fullarton's articles in the *Asiatic Mirror* have seldom been surpassed and to him was confided the honour—for in a literary point of view it was an honour—of combating the Reform Bill and its progeny in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*. He became a partner of Messrs. Alexander and Co., the great Agency House of Calcutta from the 30th April 1813 and ceased to be so on the 30th April 1819, when he went home. The great Agency House had some share in the proprietorship of the *Asiatic Mirror*. Fullarton was succeeded by Dr. James Bryce in the editorial management of the *Asiatic Mirror* in 1815.

"that all forthcoming civil and military appointments are generally known before their publication in the *Calcutta Gazette* or the public official communication of them by Government." He also remarked on the rigour exercised by the present censor when compared with the conduct of his predecessor. On the 11th April (1815) within a week the same editor was again taken to task for his very irregular conduct in having inserted an account of the route from Janickpur to Catmandhoo (Nepal), after the same had been struck out by the Secretary to Government. In this year, partly in consequence of the Nepal war and partly to guard Official Secrets more carefully, Lord Hastings withdrew "Official authority" from the *Calcutta Gazette* and directed the publication of "*The Government Gazette*." The Government order runs thus.—"Fort William, Public Department, May 2nd, 1815, orders having been issued directing that the printing business of Government shall be transferred from the *Calcutta Gazette Press* to the Press established at the *Military Orphan Society*: Notice is hereby given that a weekly paper will be published at the *Society's Press*, from the commencement of the ensuing month, to be styled *The Government Gazette*. The officers of Government are accordingly directed to send all advertisements and other papers connected with the Public Service, which require to be printed, from the date abovementioned to the *Orphan Society Press*. By order of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council, A. Trotter, Acting Secretary to Government."

In 1817 Dr. Bryce* the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, complained to Government

* Tradition says that he placed the gilt cock on the steeple of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, to crow for all time over Bishop Middleton. In December

of the Chief Secretary (Mr. John Adam)* for having "overstepped the powers of his office" as censor of the press in striking out of the proof-sheets a critique on a historical, political and metaphysical work, by Lieutenant Young† which critique Lieutenant Young had perused and approved. Mr. Adam stated that he considered the critique "to be written in a tone of sarcasm and bantering, likely to produce irritation and to have occasioned an angry discussion in the newspapers;" and he deemed the prevention of such disputes to be strictly within the limits of his duty and authority as connected with the control of the press, but that on hearing from Dr. Bryce that Lieutenant Young had approved of the critique, he should have allowed its publication, had not Dr. Bryce accompanied the intimation with a threat of complaining of him to Government for an undue exercise of his power as censor in having expunged it from the proof-sheets. Dr. Bryce, at the same time, submitted to Mr. Adam a notice to his readers, accounting for the hiatus which would appear in that day's *Mirror* in the event of his (Mr. Adam's) persisting in his refusal to allow the appearance of the critique. The notice, strongly reflected on the conduct of the censor of the press in prohibiting the appearance of a criticism on a work purely literary, was cut down by Mr. Adam to a mere apology "for a blank in this day's *Mirror*." It was intimated to Dr. Bryce, in answer to his complaint, that, under the explanation given by Mr. Adam, the latter was not considered to have

1823, he first attracted the attention of the Church of Scotland towards India "as a promising field for spiritual warfare." This ultimately led to the India Mission of the Church of Scotland of which Dr. Alexander Duff was the first missionary.

* Afterwards Provisional Governor-General.

† Lieutenant James Young became a Member of Committee of Public Instruction in 1835. He was for some time in 1833 editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

unduly exercised his powers as censor in the instance specified by Dr. Bryce, whose conduct with respect to the intended notice to his readers was deemed highly disrespectful. He was, therefore, informed that in his "editorial capacity," * he stood under the unfavourable sentiment of Government. The Governor-General† also remarked on the incompatibility of the avocations of an editor and managing proprietor of a newspaper with the clerical character, even "supposing the paper conducted without inviting controversy." Dr. Bryce, on receiving the abovementioned communication, again addressed the Government and submitted certain explanations relative to his conduct as editor of the *Mirror*, with a view of inducing a revocation of the censure passed on him by Government. He also defended the propriety of his conduct in having undertaken the office of editor of a newspaper, which he did not consider to be incompatible with the clerical character. In the course of his observations, Dr. Bryce commented severely on the conduct of Mr. Adam as censor, when compared with that of former censors of the press. The Governor-General in Council, after a perusal of Dr. Bryce's defence, declared that he could see no reason, in his present explanation, to withdraw the public censure passed upon him in his editorial capacity, and that his Lordship had observed with sincere regret the whole strain and tenor of Dr. Bryce's letter; but that his Lordship in Council deemed it unnecessary to continue a discussion with him on the subject, adding that it was "almost superfluous to observe, that the character of Mr. Adam stood too high in the estimation of Government and of the public to be in any

* Dr. James Bryce, it should be remembered, was the Scotch chaplain at the time.

† The Marquess of Hastings.

way affected by the insinuations stated in Dr. Bryce's letter."

In June 1817, Mr. Adam complained of the insertion of matter in the *Mirror* not sanctioned by him. Dr. Bryce in reply vindicated his general conduct as editor of the paper and stated that in the instance specified the fault did not rest with him. He then proceeded to enquire whether he might not be allowed, after the proof-sheets had received the censor's initials, to correct typographical errors, or grammatical inaccuracies, or to withdraw from the paper anything once submitted or even to insert births, deaths and marriages and advertisements, or a summary of intelligence of importance that might happen to be received after the proof-sheets had been sent to the censor; if not, he declared his intention to apply for a relaxation of the rules, which he requested to be furnished with, as he was only acquainted with them in the mode of conducting the department of censor by Mr. Ricketts,* and as Mr. Adam had departed materially from what he understood to be the established practice. Mr. Adam answered affirmatively all the above inquiries and stated that he only desired the observance of the rules already established by former practice and by the letters which he had addressed to him on the subject.

But the strong attitude taken by Dr. Bryce against the censorship of the Press eventually brought out its abolition. The year 1818 is a memorable year in the history of the Press in India, as in that year Lord Hastings abolished the censorship over the Press and practically freed its operation. Let us see now how the censorship worked and came to an end. From the time of Lord Wellesley up to that of Lord Hastings, the practice had

The Hon'ble Charles Milner Ricketts.

been for the Chief Secretary to the Government to act as a censor of the Press, when every editor of a newspaper was obliged to send his proof-sheets to the Secretary's office to be read through before they could be printed, and he was compelled to omit everything which the Secretary might strike out, without any reason being assigned. This censorship was never established by law, but the manner in which it was made binding on English editors was this that if they should refuse to comply with it, their licenses* to reside in India would be taken away and they might then be sent out of the country. The dread of this punishment was more powerful than any law could be ; and, therefore, no English editors resisted it. It came soon to be discovered, however, during the administration of Lord Hastings especially, that no such threats could be applied to an Indian-born† editor, because as no license of residence was necessary for him he could not be banished for not possessing it, and there was no other way in which an evasion of the censorship could be punished. Accordingly, an Indian-born gentleman ‡‡ having set up a paper of his own, he refused to submit to the censorship, and there was no remedy for the evil. Lord Hastings perceiving this, thought it, of course, extremely unjust, not to say absurd, that "the ill-educated Hindu British or half-caste population" as they were called (being the mixed race of half-British and half-Indian blood and generally the progeny of English fathers and Hindu mothers) should possess an exemption from the censorship, while the well educated English gentlemen should be subject to that restriction. His Lordship accordingly took off the censor-

* For a facsimile of a license, the reader is referred to Bolts' *Considerations on Indian Affairs*.

† Nowadays called Eurasian or Anglo-Indian.

‡‡ Mr. Peter Stone De Rozario who founded the *Columbian Press Gazette*.

ship entirely from both and proclaimed the Indian **Press** to be free. But as the members of his Council were elderly gentlemen, brought up in all the prejudices of the despotic system and thought very differently from Lord Hastings, and as the Indian Directors at home would be likely also to think very differently about the safety of a free press in India, so for the joint sakes and to satisfy the scruples of those two antagonistic parties, it was thought necessary to calm their apprehensions, by the following new regulations superseding the censorship, which were passed by the Governor-General in Council for the conduct of the editors of newspaper on the 19th August 1818.

"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, *viz.* :—

"I. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the Council, of the judges of the Supreme Court or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"II. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

"III. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

"IV. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals to excite dissension in society."

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
19th August 1818. }

J. ADAM,
Chief Secy. to the Govt.

The above rules prescribed for the guidance of the editors of the Calcutta Press were reported by Lord Hastings to the Court of Directors in the public letter from Bengal, dated 1st October 1818 (paragraph 78), but no reasons were assigned by the Governor-General for the change of system, either in the Consultations of Government or in the despatch to the Court. The Court having been desirous of replying separately to such part of the communication from the Bengal Government of the 1st October 1818, as related to the Press, prepared the draft of a despatch which was sent up officially to the India Office for the sanction of the Board of Commissioners on the 17th April 1820; but the draft was never returned by the Board, nor did the Court receive any official communication respecting it. But the following extract from the suppressed despatch will explain the sentiments and objects of the Court in framing it :—

"It is clear from the tenor of these new regulations, and from the nature and extent of the restrictions, imposed by them, that you have not intended to liberate the Press of Calcutta, from all control on the part of Government, although an inference even to that latitude, might have been drawn from an article* in the *Madras Government Gazette* of the 12th August

* At a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras held on the 26th May 1819 for the purpose of congratulating Lord Hastings on the successful issue of the Pindarry and Mahratta war, it was resolved to present an address to his Lordship in which there was the following passage:—"While contemplating this important subject, it must have occurred that to the attainment of truth, freedom of inquiry was essentially necessary; that public opinion was the strongest support of just government; and that liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the Executive. Such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind, an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments evinced by the whole tenor of your Lordship's administration." Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, adverting to this portion of the address, in his reply, was represented in the *Madras Government Gazette* to have expressed himself as follows:—"One topic remains. My removal of restrictions from the Press has been mentioned in laudatory language; I might easily have adopted that precedent without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit o

last purporting to be an answer of the Governor-General to an address from the inhabitants of Madras. The only question, therefore, is, whether the new system of control is likely to prove at once equally efficient with that which it supplanted, and less inconvenient to individuals. After the fullest consideration which we have been able to give to the subject, it is our decided conviction that neither the Government nor the public, nor the editors, will benefit from the change.

With this conviction we positively direct that, on the receipt of this despatch, you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for near 20 years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our presidencies in India.

The inconvenience and public scandal which have resulted from the sudden liberation of the Press in Calcutta, while that at Madras continued under control, are too notorious to require particularising here, and could not but be the consequence of so hasty and partial a measure.

We do not by any means intend that the direction now conveyed to you should be understood as implying a determination on our part to maintain in perpetuity the system of previous inspection, as established for the last 20 years; but we mean distinctly to show, that we cannot consent to have great changes made in any part of our existing system, without a

"regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in this step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment; on the contrary, it acquires an incalculable addition of force. That Government which has nothing to disguise, yields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed; and let the triumph of our beloved country, in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest entiments."

previous communication to us, and a previous signification of our approval, and especially without some efficient substitution in the room of the Regulations proposed to be rescinded."

It is not known why the Board of Commissioners suppressed the angry Despatch from the Court of Directors to their Governor-General in India, Lord Hastings. Suffice it to say that the Regulations promulgated by Lord Hastings remained in operation till 1823 when they were supplanted by other Regulations about which I shall speak fully later on.

In the present year, 1818, the Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, of Serampur, then a Danish Settlement, first founded a Bengalee weekly paper, and Mr John Clark Marshman thus narrates the event in all its circumstances :—

" It appeared (in 1818) that the time was ripe for a native newspaper and I offered the missionaries to undertake the publication of it. The jealousy which the Government had always manifested of the periodical press appeared, however, to present a serious obstacle. The English journals in Calcutta were under the strictest surveillance, and many a column appeared resplendent with the stars which were substituted at the last moment for the editorial remarks and through which the censor had drawn his fatal pen. In this state of things it was difficult to suppose that a native paper would be tolerated for a moment. It was resolved, therefore, to feel the official pulse by starting a monthly magazine in the first instance, and the *Dig-Dursun* appeared in April 1818. It was composed of historical and other notices, likely from their novelty to excite the attention of the natives, and to sharpen their curiosity. In the last page, in a smaller type, some few items of political intelligence were inserted. Two numbers were published,

and copies were sent to the principal members of Government (including the Censor), and the fact of the publication was widely circulated by advertisements in all the English papers of Calcutta. As no objection appeared to be taken to the publication of the magazine by the Censor, though it contained news, it was resolved at once to launch the weekly paper, and to call it by the name given to the earliest English news-letter, the *Mirror of News* or the *Sumachar Durpun*. But Dr. Carey, who had been labouring fifteen years in India during the period when the opposition to missionary efforts and to the enlightenment of the natives was in full vigour, was unfavourable to the publication of the journal because he feared it would give umbrage in official circles and weaken the good understanding which had been gradually growing up between the missionaries and the Government. He strenuously advised that the idea of it should be dropped, but he was overruled by his two colleagues, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward. When the proof-sheets were brought up for final examination at the weekly meeting of the missionaries the evening before the day* of publication, he renewed his objection to the undertaking on the grounds he had stated. Dr. Marshman then offered to proceed to Calcutta the next morning and submit the first number of the new gazette, together with a rough translation of the articles, to Mr. Edmonstone,† then Vice-President, and to the Chief Secretary,‡ and he promised that it should be discontinued if they raised any objection to it. To his great delight he found both of them favourable to the undertaking. At the same time he transmitted a copy of the paper to Lord Hastings,

* Friday, Saturday being the day of publication.

† The Honourable Neil Benjamin Edmonstone.

‡ Mr. John Adam.

then in the North-Western Provinces, and was happy to receive a reply in his own hand highly commending the project of endeavouring to excite and gratify a spirit of inquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper. And thus was the journal established.*

A copy of it was sent with a subscription book to all the great Baboos in Calcutta, and the first name entered on the list was that of Dwarkanath Tagore. On the return of Lord Hastings to the Presidency, he endeavoured to encourage the undertaking by allowing the journal to circulate through the country at one-fourth the usual charge of postage which at that time was extravagantly high." †

S. C. SANIAL.

(*To be continued.*)

* J. C. Marshman in his *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (popular edition, London, 1864) says that "on the 31st of May 1818, the first newspaper ever printed in any Eastern language was issued from the Serampur press." This is evidently an error. The first number of the *Sunachar Durpan* is dated Saturday, the 23rd May 1818. For corroboration see also *Calcutta Review*, No. XXV, Vol. XIII, 1850, p. 145. I have seen the first number with date, 23rd May 1818. Besides, *Sunachar Durpan* is not the first Bengalee newspaper. In 1816 was published the *Bengal Gazette* in Bengalee by Gangadhar Bhattacharya. It lived not more than a year. This is the first Bengalee newspaper.

† This extract is taken from a letter written by J. C. Marshman to Dr. George Smith and published in the latter's *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, pp. 230-233, 2nd edition, London, 1898. This information is also to be found in Marshman's *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* in different form.

Art. VI.—DECAY OF VILLAGES IN BENGAL.

IN these days of tall talk and imperial ideas it is positively refreshing to turn from party politics and puerile polemics to the "modest" question of the decay of villages in Bengal. The heroes of a nation live in its hamlets—unknown, unhonoured, and, often, uncared for. There they work for others,—

" —— cleave the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat and wine, and oil ;
Till they perish "

and leave others to reap renown—

" To mould a mighty state's decrees,
And shape the whispers of the throne."

From them come the energy and the character of the people. Still it is not infrequently that they are held in contempt by the so-called upper classes. They are proverbially called "the common"—"as if those who work are not a hundred times more noble than those who do nothing" or next to nothing! The more civilised a Government the more care it should take of the masses—the backbone of the people.

Not unjustly has India been called "the Peasant Empire" for the majority of her peoples depend on the uncertain industry of agriculture. And her scattered villages require more care than her congested towns.

"In no country," wrote Dr. Hunter in his brilliant book on Orissa, "does the public health more urgently demand the aid of that science (sanitation). But the ignorance, prejudices, and suspicions of the people on the one hand, and the vast demands on the revenue for more visibly and perhaps more urgently needed public works on the other, do not leave sanitation a chance. Medical men

are driven from one project to another, as each is found to be either too costly to Government, or too superstitious for the natives." What was true then is equally true to-day. And this state of affairs does not reflect credit either on the Government or on the people.

The sanitary condition of our villages is almost despairing and nothing if not beyond the power of individual effort to improve perceptibly.

Our villages suffer because of—

- (1) Bad Drainage,
- (2) Bad Ventilation,
- (3) Bad Surroundings,
- (4) Bad Water,
- (5) Bad Food.

It was, we believe, Sir John Woodburn, who once said that the ultimate destiny of Bengal rivers seems to be to form deltas and get silted up. On the plains rivers lose the force and impetuosity which they gain in their descent from the hills. As the sluggish waters approach the sea they allow the alluvia to settle on the bed which soon impede the course of the stream. Witness, for instance, the cases of the Hooghly and the Bhâgirathi. Instead of guarding against this danger promiscuous building of bridges without leaving sufficient waterway, and indiscriminate erection of *bunds* without consulting the course of the water are allowed. A network of railroads has done much to impede the force of the flow of rivers in Bengal. Blocks of stone are thrown in the river bed to protect the pillars. When a river "choked with sedges" loses its free flow the canals and *beels* connected with it can no longer pour their surplus water into it. Their beds grow high on account of the mud settling on them instead of being carried on to the sea after falling into the rivers. Into these canals and *beels* flows the

water from the villages. When these canals and *beels* can no longer pour out their surplus water—the water from the villages can no longer flow out and consequently makes the soil water-logged. The result is apparent. Villages where some twenty years back jungle undergrowth was scarce and the mosquito was a stranger have now become full of jungle undergrowth and a fertile breeding ground of the mosquito—declared by experts to be the agent and propagandist of malaria.

In many places the village drains have disappeared. Where they have not actually disappeared they have, owing to their level becoming high, become useless. On the fields they have, in many cases, been encroached upon by the cultivators. Now the rain water accumulates where it can in the village, and in all low places the stagnant waters become a source of danger to public health.

Malaria is a recent thing in Bengal. Though cholera is ‘fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell’—the great killer in Lower Bengal is fever. More or less a constant enemy, it is properly an annual visitant. Each season it comes as an endemic with ‘the first fall of rain in May,’ when severe cases have been noticed; but they are too few in number to cause much alarm.”* “Increasing with the increase of the wet weather, the disease reaches its height in the steamy months of August and September causing heavy mortality.” When this fever first broke out it broke out as an epidemic. It was called the “Nutan Jwar” (New Fever) and then became known under the name of “Burdwan Fever.”

The first instance of the fever showing itself occurs as far back as 1804—when it claimed victims at Berhampore. The second instance (1824-25) occurred in the

district of Jessoré where the outbreak was "very fatal at the village of Mahmudpur." From Mahmudpur it travelled on to Dalga, Naldanga, Chanchra and Kasba. About 1856 it depopulated Gadghat and entered Jessoré. About 1832 it entered the Nadia district attacking Gadkhali, Guateli, Kanddeela and Sukpukhuria (these villages are now included within the district of Jessoré). In 1840 it appeared again at Gadkhali, "a large and populous village on the swampy banks of a nullah, and surrounded by low marshy ground." The fever entered Krishnagar in 1864 and stayed till 1867, clearing the place of about a third of its population.

In 1864 the Government of Bengal appointed a Commission to enquire into the causes of the fever and to report on the best remedial measures for the prevention of its recurrence. The Commission reported :—"We have been led to ascribe the prevailing sickness to—(1) Miasm ; (2) Polluted drinking waters ; (3) Vitiated air and deficient ventilation ; (4) The excessive use of farinaceous food ; and (5) Contagion to a slight extent."

In the report we read—"Our first object must be to reduce, as much as possible, the generation of miasm, or malarious exhalations rising principally from moisture in the soil during the drying process after the rains ; and any means by which this drying process can be accelerated and shortened will produce *pro tanto* diminishing effect on the total amount of miasm generated. To effect this course the obvious course is to improve the drainage of the country obstructed by the silting up of rivers and *khals*, and the general assimilation of levels which have gradually taken place of late years. Remembering that the direction of the natural drainage of the villages situated along the river banks is inland, we have no difficulty in believing that it

is impeded by the railway embankments on both sides. . . . With a view to improve the internal drainage of the villages, we would strongly recommend the construction of open water-ways to carry off the surface water directly to any neighbouring river, *khal* or *beel* that may be available, or failing such to some one or more low pools or tanks outside the village."

Raja Digambar Mittra, one of the members of the Commission, after citing specific instances, went on to say : " Taking into consideration the number of roads that have sprung up of late as also others in course of construction, and bearing in mind likewise the manner in which the drainage of the country is effected, and the difficulty thereby entailed of providing those roads with a sufficient number of outlets, it is not improbable that in the cases of those villages which have not yet been examined, obstructions to their drainage would, upon enquiry, appear to have proceeded chiefly from roads having been made without reference to the water-shed of the country, and without being provided with a sufficient number of water-courses."

The truth of this statement must be admitted. Culverts are generally not constructed save in places where the pressure of the water is likely to wash away the earth-work.

" Marshes," says Dr. Maclean, " are not, as a rule, dangerous when abundantly covered with water : it is when the water level is lowered, and the saturated soil is exposed to the drying influence of a high temperature and the direct rays of the sun that this poison (noxious emanations) is evolved in abundance." *Commenting on the above Dr. Gregg remarks: " The production of

* Quain's *Dictionary of Medicine*.

malaria on a great scale in this way was seen in the district of Burdwan not many years ago. The soil is alluvial, but dry; and until within the last few years Burdwan was more salubrious than the central or eastern districts of the Lower Gangetic Delta. The drainage of the district became obstructed by the silting up of its natural and artificial outlets, the result being a water-logged condition of the soil, the development of malaria and an alarming increase in the death-rate.*

In course of a lecture delivered by him in 1885 at the Bethune Society Dr. K. D. Ghose remarked : "The cause of fever in Bengal is the want of proper drainage of the soil." "Drain the land," wrote Dr. J. M. Coates Sanitary Commisioner for Bengal, in 1874, "so that the rain runs quickly off, or keep the subsoil water so far from the surface soil that the supersoil does not retain damp, decomposing, and evaporating, and healthy people are the result." We must not lose sight of the fact that paddy crop requires water standing on the field for some time. And that as we have already shown, is not dangerous to public health—the fields being then completely covered with water. It is after that, that the supersoil should be kept dry by a system of drainage appropriate to the needs of the country. The appearance of malaria in Bengal is a recent thing, and before its appearance the public health, in spite of the paddy fields, was good. Moreover, malaria, says Dr. Maclean, is "an earth born poison, generated in soils, the energies of which are not expended in the growth and sustenance of healthy vegetation." So defective drainage due to the silting up of rivers and the obstruction of waterways must be held responsible for the appearance of malaria in Bengal.

* *The Calcutta Review*, 1889.

"In England fen districts of the eastern counties, Romney marsh in Kent, and the Marsh district of Somerset have in great part ceased to be malarious within recent memory, and there has been a proportionate improvement, through drainage, in most parts of Holland, in some of the malarious districts of France and Italy, and in Algiers." *

"If surface and subsoil drainage accomplished nothing else, it would be worth all the money expended on it, as marking an era in the history of Indian sanitation. But there can be no doubt whatever that improved health and better physique would follow its introduction. Where now are to be seen wretched beings of sallow and ghastly countenance looking twice their real age, with attenuated frames, shrunken limbs, muscles thin and powerless, tongues of silvery whiteness (certain index of deadly marsh fever), pulses feeble and irregular, spleens and livers enormously enlarged, and pitiable languid gait, would be found men well-knit, with their muscles developed and their vital organs sound—altogether powerful, vigorous, healthy and happy.

"In many towns great difficulties—other than monetary, will no doubt be met with before the desired result can be attained, but these should not be allowed to overbalance the advantages to be derived from a thorough and systematic drainage system. Great difficulties were at first experienced in England, but they gradually disappeared as improvement advanced. Not many years ago drainage improvements were as little known in many parts of England as they are at present in India, and much controversy and opposition preceded their introduction, yet populous and now flourishing districts have been

* *Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XV.*

drained in the face of great difficulties. There is no reason why similar results should not be obtained in India."*

Mention must here be made of the attempt made by Sir Charles Elliott to introduce proper drainage in the mofussil. But people have been slow to take advantage of the provisions of the Sanitary Drainage Act (Act VIII of 1895) and the Act is but a dead letter.

Bad ventilation in the village may seem a paradox. But it is so. Houses are built closely together and built without any regard to ventilation. In an Indian village huts grow in clusters and the smallest space available is utilised—the arable area being, as a rule, never encroached upon. The houses, moreover, are never constructed carefully as regards ventilation and within a very limited space huts grow up and multiply with a rapidity that is really astonishing. One of the reasons of this overcrowding must be found in the fact that the cultivator has to pay more for his homestead land than for the field which yields him corn—the rate of rent for the former being in many cases more than double the rate for the latter. Ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation the villagers build their huts within a very limited space without an eye to ventilation. The advantages of the thatched roof, as ordinarily found in Bengal, is that some space is left between the walls and the roof. But for this advantage, which is an accident, we would often hear of cases of asphyxia happening in closed rooms during the winter months.

Next we come to bad surroundings. The dangers of a faulty construction of the huts are considerably enhanced by bad surroundings. Mention has already been made of the crowding together of huts. Generally a yard is kept in each cluster of huts. It is surrounded by

*Doctor Gregg in *The Calcutta Review*, 1889.

the sleeping room, the store room and the cook-shed, the shed for the husking implement, and the cow-shed. In a corner is to be found the hollow whence earth had been taken for building the huts. And as bamboos are required for the annual repairs a bamboo clump is planted on the brink of the hollow. During the rains the water accumulates in this hollow ; and the bamboo clump prevents the rays of the sun from reaching the water in which it drops its leaves to decompose. The water smells horribly and is but another name for poison. In this cesspool the cooking utensils are washed ; and the children delight to play in it like frog. The bamboo clump, moreover, makes the entire space damp.

Then there is the dungheap. The scanty droppings of the underfed cattle, when not used as fuel, are left to accumulate in a corner of the yard to be used as manure in the fields. The stinking ordure is always unpleasant. And though Herbert Spencer pronounces dogmatically that the decomposing matter is not injurious to health there are others who hold the opposite opinion. "In every village," says Herbert Spencer, "throughout the Kingdom (Great Britain), each of the half dozen farms, by its yard full of manure, by its cow-sheds, and by its stables, severally reeking with the gases from the decomposing matter, furnished a contradiction to the belief that ordinary unpleasant odours are pernicious. Places which, according to current sanitary doctrines, ought to be centres of disease, prove to be quite healthful—so healthful, indeed, that invalids frequently take lodgings in farm-houses where they are exposed to these products of decaying excreta."* But the great philosopher forgot to calculate the purifying influences which often counteract the evil effects of the gases rising from

* Facts and Comments.

decomposing matter. The smell itself is highly disagreeable. Insects grow and thrive in the dirt. And when the tropical rains come pouring the liquid decomposing matter is spread over the whole of the yard—in which the children play naked and a portion of it finds its way into the pool mentioned above. The yard is converted into a "magazine of mortality," and the wretched inmates eat and sleep around this "perennial fountain of death." This condition adds to the danger of living in over-crowded houses in congested areas.

In some houses occupied by Mahomedans the dead are buried in the yard, and the house converted into a cemetery. The refuse matter is as a matter of course, thrown behind the cook-shed where "ancestral filth" has its place by right of occupancy.

Come we now to the subject of water. The importance of the question of water-scarcity in Bengal cannot be overestimated. It is now admitted by all careful observers that "in both the rural and urban areas of Bengal the deficient quantity and unsatisfactory quality of water-supply are a disgrace and a menace." It is fortunate that the Government has, after all, warmed to its task ; and we have every reason to hope that the Government which has—so often and so prominently declared its policy to be to—

"Fill full the mouth of famine,
And bid the sickness cease,"

which strains every nerve to mitigate human suffering will do all that it can to remedy this state of affairs. We have already referred to the drying up of old river-beds. The tanks that used to supply drinking water to the villages are drying up too, and new tanks are seldom excavated now-a-days. The reasons are manifold. In days gone by the zemindars used to take the lead in

such matters and the rayats often worked without remuneration for the common good. This *begar* may seem cruel. But—as Mr. Steen puts it—“ are not all great engineering feats in the East due to this agency ? ”* And then they had not to pay the cesses regularly every year while they served without remuneration only at long intervals and reaped the benefits of their own labour.

When the Road Cess was levied, in violation of the conditions of the Permanent Settlement, the Duke of Argyll—the then Secretary of State for India—wrote :— “ It is above all things requisite that the benefits to be derived from the rates should be brought home to the door of the cess-payers, and that these benefits should be palpable, direct and immediate. ”†

To make this still more clear Sir George Campbell, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, declared in his Proclamation : “ All persons assessed to the Road Cess are informed and assured by the Government that every pice levied under the Act will be spent in the district in which it is raised to improve the local roads, canals and rivers in the district for the benefit of the inhabitants. Nothing will be diverted to any other purpose than that which the law directs. ” Then again : “ Every tax-payer is encouraged and invited to claim that the tax shall be fairly applied to the village roads and local paths and water channels in which he is interested. ”

It is exactly for purposes enumerated in the extracts quoted above that, in the past, the zemindars spent their money and the labourers had to contribute labour free. We do not grudge the introduction of the new system of levying cesses. But the new system—foreign to Oriental ideas—has not yet worked smoothly, because a hard and

* Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan.

† Para. 22 of the Despatch.

fast rule is, in many cases, repugnant to the Oriental mind. The zemindars are, moreover, fast becoming impoverished. Some of the causes of the decay of villages in Bengal have thus been summarised by a writer in the *Statesman*: "Among causes other than the process of subinfeudation which have contributed to the decay of the villages is the progressive subdivision of proprietary interests by inheritance which has proceeded so far that in a large proportion of estates there are no longer any individual sharers with either the desire or the means to devote money to works of utility for the benefit of the rural population, such as the construction and maintenance of tanks, bathing ghats, village roads and paths and the like. Another cause is the decay of the old influence of the landholders as a class, owing partly to the above cause coupled with sub-infeudation, and partly to the landlord and tenant legislation of the last half century. Those whose memories go back far enough will doubtless bear us out when we say that but for this influence whether exercised in the mustering of *begar* labour, or in enlisting the voluntary combined efforts of the tenantry, a large portion of such works would never have been constructed in the past, whereas now-a-days there are very few of the class who still possess this power or influence. Yet another cause of the decay complained of is the change in the habits and feelings of the upper and middle classes in the country which has resulted in their having less money to spend, and less inclination to spend it on works of utility for the benefit of their neighbours."

Unfortunately for the country the absentee landlord is the order of the day.

The tanks which supply villages with drinking water are fast getting dried up and the water becoming a

fruitful source of disease and death. While asking the Government to help the people we must not forget to ask the people to help themselves, especially in preserving the purity of the water in tanks and rivers. Dead bodies are often thrown into the rivers in times of epidemics. Jute plants are steeped in rivers and tanks. The sides of the tanks from which rain water descends into the tanks are used by the people to ease themselves. Dirty clothes are washed in the tanks from which drinking water is drawn. And they are, as a rule, used for bathing. Speaking of the Indian peoples Lord Dufferin once said : "Where is there a more crying need for sanitary reform than amongst those who insist upon bathing in the tanks from which they obtain their drinking water ?"

We quote the following from the Government Circular dated the 20th May 1904 with approbation : "The contamination of tanks which should be reserved for drinking purposes, when it is not due to the failure of those interested to clean them out and deepen them, is principally owing to their use as places of bathing, for washing clothes and utensils, or for watering cattle. When such neglect of the most elementary rules of health is due to the backwardness of the sanitary education of the people, who prefer to use the nearest water available rather than be put to the inconvenience of going a short distance to satisfy some of their requirements little immediate result can be hoped for from the occasional visits of officials. In such cases the Government must look to the influence of educated native gentlemen in the mofussil by precept and example gradually to lead their fellow-countrymen into a more excellent way. At the same time, although the exhortations and advice of officials may for the time being appear to be thrown away,

they can scarcely fail to have an educative influence which may bear fruit at a later date." *

We now come to the last head—bad food. It is useless to talk of the common food of the people. But we must speak a word or two about the food that must be held directly responsible for periodic outbreaks of epidemics. Little attention is, as a rule, paid to the quality of the food taken by the people. In winter when rotten fish is added to a superabundance of onion and radish cholera comes to lay its leprous touch on victims weakened by malaria. It claims its quota from almost every house and often gets its full share of *chowth*. The weak victims succumb to the first touch. And in the ill-constructed and ill-ventilated houses in congested areas the infection travels apace. Then the dead bodies are thrown into the river to decompose, the dirty linens are washed in the stream or in the tank from which drinking water is drawn. People are so ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation!

Such are the principal causes of the decay of Bengal villages. The outlook is gloomy. And—at first sight, it may seem to be a hopeless task to remedy the prevailing state of affairs. But the vital interests of the country are connected with the improvement of the sanitary condition of the villages. The work must be done. The Government is, as a matter of course,

* Hindu law-givers were not ignorant of the importance of safeguarding drinking water against contamination. We read in Manu : "One may not discharge into water either urine, or ordure, or spittle, or anything smeared with (what is) unclean, or blood, or poison" (Burnell's translation). Then again Apastamba, whose date cannot be placed later than the third century B. C., ordains : "He (*the Sndaka* shall not void excrements with his shoes on nor on a ploughed field, nor on a path^a nor in water.

^a "He shall also avoid to spit into . . . water.

"He shall not void excrements facing the fire, the sun, water, a Brâhmaṇa, a cow, (images of) gods" (Bühler in the Sacred Books of the East series, Vol. II).

But these rules are now "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

held responsible by the people. But the people, especially those who have received the advantages of education, must not forget that they have a duty to discharge by their countrymen. In matters like these the local Government, the local bodies, and the local public must work in the same direction. And then, and then only can we hope to gain the desired result.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

Art. VII.—BAHAISM.

SINCE the awakening of the Renaissance we have passed in succession through a period of religious reaction and an age of economic revolution, and now find that a new era is at hand. Religion is gradually losing its hold over the mind of the people who can no longer reconcile themselves with the popular theories of the "nature of creator, the design of creation and the future destiny of man." On the other hand it is observed that the economic problem of the re-arrangement of society on the basis of perfect equality remains yet unsolved. Communism, with all its promise of turning our planet into an Eden and of establishing society on the basis of pure love of humanity, has but proved itself the "Satan of Political Economy" and has been the cause of spreading rancour and discord among men.

The future of man is thus fraught with danger and in the darkness in which humanity is now enveloped there is but one visible ray of hope. Socialistic Communism will either become religious or will cease to be. "In order to achieve enduring results it will have to borrow from religion its best elements of altruism and abnegation, together with the idea of a superhuman power making for the material and moral progress of humanity."*

Asia up to now has been the cradle of nearly all the well-known religious systems of the world and it will not be surprising if this new change also finds an asylum here. It is for this reason that the student of comparative theology and contemporary history cannot silently pass over the change that has of late been visible in Persia and

* Hibbert Lectures, 1891. Count Goblet o'Alvulla.

its neighbouring lands through the influence of Bahaism. This "peaceful revolution," which is spreading very slowly, but most surely, is but a new phase of the human evolution, and is perhaps the message of the progressive twentieth century to man. The old order is changing and is yielding place to new, and Asia is showing unmistakable signs of awakening. "If pessimism dominates Eastern society we must not believe that it is because the lot of man is intolerable here, but it is only because centuries of political despotism and moral relaxation have robbed the Orientals of elasticity of will." Bahaism is a religion as well as a movement—as a religion it is peaceful, as a movement it is progressive, and the principles upon which it is based are the old well-known principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity of men. The recent change of government that has so unexpectedly come over Persia is but one of the earliest results of this movement. "Inequality," says Aristotle, "is the source of all revolution, for no sort of compensation can atone for inequality." The French Revolution, which is one of the greatest political events of the world, was such a revolution. It was a struggle between the Government and the people in which millions of human life were destroyed, and the king, the symbol of despotism, was publicly slain. But in the "peaceful revolution" of our time there was no such struggle, because the Bahai wielded a stronger instrument against those who refused to accept the message of his prophet. His method of work was indirect. He never opposed his opponent, but submitted himself to the will of his oppressor. He was averse to violent measures, practised no public preaching, and instead of shouting aloud for reform and change peaceably directed the thoughts of the people to what was meant for their good and thus brought to bear upon them a passive

influence the force of which was irresistible. He preferred to suffer in silence than to terrorize, and believing in the words of his master, that "a life lost in the service of humanity was a life gained," willingly laid down his life in spreading the cause of liberty. And thus whatever he lost was his gain and looking at the success that has so far been achieved it can be said that Bahaism which is now a universal religion in quality will become so also in fact.

Such is Bahaism, the universal religion of the human race, and by the student of religious thought it can no longer be ignored. This great religious and social movement known by the name of Bahaism, or more commonly Babism, had its birth in the land of Zoroaster which was already associated with the traditions and history of the Parsi faith and which has been the cradle of Shiaite and Aliite ideas in Islam. The Bāhāī religion, which announces itself as a new manifestation of divine truth, is a new religion and is not, as has sometimes been understood, a new sect of Islam. The founder of it lived only in the first quarter of the last century and first presented himself to the people in 1843. He was the son of a cloth merchant of Shiraz and his early life is so simple and usual that there is nothing particularly noticeable in him. He was a youth known for his purity of life and good manners which attracted all those whom he had occasion to meet. He was sent to school at the usual age, but did not remain a student very long. Professor Browne thinks that he was a pupil of Haji Syed Kazim of Resht and that he was a member of the sect founded by the Haji, who was one of the greatest mujtahids of his time and a man of great learning. But as far as we learn from the Bahai accounts the old Haji of Resht had

only the privilege of being a friend of the young Ali Mohommed, the Bab. It is said that once questioned about the re-appearance of Imam Mehdi, the redeemer, by some of his pupils, the Haji said, pointing to a light that came from a certain ventilator in the room and fell upon the young Ali Mohommed, that they need not be very anxious about it as the manifestation would be as clear as the light and thus every pupil of the Haji though he looked at the light looked at the redeemer himself. As Professor Browne himself admits, he did not stop very long at Resht and returned once more to his native city. This clearly shows that the Bab had no regular education at any school and all the knowledge that he possessed was divine. In 1843 he started on a pilgrimage to Mecca and like Mohammed it is probably there that he first heard the voice of God. On his return to Persia he wrote a journal of his pilgrimage and a new commentary on the Quran, which were both read with great zeal by his own small band of admirers and were also held in esteem by the general Mohammedan public as the Bab had not yet declared himself to be the founder of a new religion.

According to the Shia doctrine of Immate, the twelfth Imam Mehdi, who mysteriously disappeared from among men and had retired to the city of Jabalqa, would reappear after a thousand years and would purge Islam of all impurities and inefficiencies. It was in the year 1260 A. H. (1844 A. D.), exactly one thousand years after Imam Mehdi's retirement, that Bab publicly announced his mission. At the time of his death Syed Kazim of Resht had said unto his disciples "I shall go so that truth may become manifest," and Mulla Husain, one of the disciples in search of the promised truth, went to Shiraz. Having had the honour of an acquaintance with the Bab he

proceeded to his house and knocked at the door, which was opened by the master himself who having heard the whole story from his visitor, declared that he himself was the promised truth, and thus the first convert of Bahaism was secured. The other convert was Mulla Husain Bushehri, a man of great erudition who came to hear him from Khorasan, and soon these two were joined by many others among whom the names of Mohommed Ali Balfroushi, Kurban Ali, and Suleman Khan are well known. Among the rest was Hazrat-i-Tahira commonly known as Qurratul Ain, "the light of the eyes," and Taji Zarrin, "the crown of gold." She was the daughter of a Mujtahid, and having heard of the fame of the Bab had presented herself before him and accepted the faith. She was a very graceful woman endowed with great beauty of person and has often been compared to Mary the mother of Jesus in her purity of life and innocence. She was a very fine poet and an eloquent speaker, it being said that when she spoke "the silence was only broken by sobs and cries of emotion of the spectators," and so great was her influence that she has been included among the nineteen gifted persons of the religion.

When the influence of the Bab increased it was felt by the Mujtahids and the laity that his existence was dangerous to the religion as well as to the state and so he was ordered to be put under custody, but his custodian was so impressed by him that he became a convert and managed his escape to Aspahan. Here he lived in peace for a year, and many new conversions were made, but in 1847 his protector having died he was sent to Tabriz for a public trial. At this time the country was ruled by Mohommed Shah and it so happened that the Shah expressed a desire to see the Bab. But the Mujtahids intervened, and did not

allow the meeting to take place because as they said the Bab was a dangerous person and was likely to have an undesirable influence on the king. It was consequently decided that he should be tried by a commission of Mujtahids which was to be presided over by the Heir-Apparent, Nasiruddin Mirza. Haji Mirza Mahmud and Haji Mirza Quli were the chief spokesmen,* and the first question put to him was "Are the books Bayan another epistles composed by you or do men wrongly attribute them to you" to which the Bab made answer that they were from God. He was then asked the meaning of his title "Bab" to which he replied that he used it in the same sense as the prophet Mohommed had said about himself ازْمَدْ نِيَّةَ الْعِلْمِ عَلَى بَابِهِ "I am the city of learning and Ali is its gate." They then proceeded thus.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Then you are the gate of the city of knowledge and the knowledge consisteth of the علم العلماں العلم الایدیان العلم الایدیان I ask then in medicine what occurs in the stomach when a person suffers from indigestion and what is the proper treatment of hypochondriasis.

Bab: I have not studied medicine.

Prince: This is incompatible with your claim.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Say, then, are the divine attributes of knowledge, hearing, seeing, and power, identical with the divine essence or otherwise?

Bab: Identical with the essence.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Then God is multiple and composite, but God is not so.

Bab remains silent and being pressed for an answer says "I have not studied philosophy."

Haji Mirza Quli: In how many ways is nine divisible?

The Bab gives no answer.

* Episode of the Bab. Professor E. G. Browne.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Show me a miracle suitable to your claim!

Bab: What miracle do you desire?

Haji Mulla Mahmud: The king is sick. Restore him to health.

Bab: It is not in my power.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: What can you then do?

Bab: I can utter eloquent words. I can write two thousand verses in one day. None else can do this.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: You must certainly give up this occupation or you will become blind.

But the above cannot be said to be a true account of the proceedings of the commission, which sat within closed doors and from which the Bahais were rigidly excluded, and as the Bahais and even some of the Mohomedans are not inclined to look upon this version with any favour we cannot give much credit to it. The commission then broke up and the verdict of guilty was returned unanimously. It was resolved that the Bab should die, and the sentence was ratified by the civil court.

Of the death of the Bab, as to how it happened, there are two versions. Professor Browne, Count Gibnone, Lady Sheil, as well as other European writers state that the Bab when fired at first fell uninjured on the ground and having lost his presence of mind ran away and took refuge in a house near by where he was despatched by a soldier, but the Bahais think it to be an imputation as the Bab never moved an inch from the place where he stood and fell riddled with bullets at the same spot when fired at a second time and gave up the ghost. To show this difference in detail I would write down the European account in the pathetic words of Lady Shiel and the Bahai version in the words of

Mr. Sydney Sprague, an American Bahai. Lady Shiel writes thus : " A company of soldiers was ordered to despatch Bab by a volley. When the smoke had cleared away Bab had disappeared from sight. It had so happened that none of the balls had touched him and prompted by an impulse to preserve his life he rushed from the spot. Had Bab possessed sufficient presence of mind to have fled to the Bazaar he would in all probability have succeeded in effecting his escape. A miracle palpable to all Tabriz would have been performed, and a new creed would have been established. But he turned in the opposite direction and hid himself in the guard room, where he was immediately discovered, brought out and shot " After this Lady Shiel continues, " His body was thrown into the ditch of the town where it was devoured by the half wild dogs which abound in Persia." " The manner of his death," writes Mr. Sydney Sprague, " was as follows :—The Bab together with one of his disciples was hung up by a rope against the side of a wall and the order given to a regiment of Armenian soldiers to fire. This they did in three successive volleys, but when the smoke cleared it was found that the Bab was uninjured, the bullets having simply cut the ropes which bound him. He uttered some words to the crowd which for the great uproar were not heard. Again he was hung up, but this time the regiment of Armenians refused to fire, so another one, of Mohammedans, was called. They fired, and the Bab's body fell riddled with bullets and thus ended his short mission." The latter part of Lady Shiel's statement has been contradicted by Professor Browne himself. He writes : " The two bodies were dragged through the streets and cast out of the gate to feed the dogs and jackals, but by night came Suleman

with gold in one hand and a sword in the other offering the choice between the two to the guards appointed to prevent the burial of the bodies. The guards took the gold and surrendered the bodies which were wrapped in fine silk, placed in a coffin and conveyed secretly to Teheran." Besides this statement there exists other documentary evidence of a snapshot taken by a Russian photographer of the two bodies wrapped in fine silk, a copy of which is generally kept by every follower of the religion as a relic of their master.

"It was the body and not the spirit of Cæsar that was destroyed, for Cæsar mightier and stronger still walked the streets of Rome." The anticipations of the government and the people were by no means realised, and in spite of increased persecution the triumphal course of Bahaism could not be checked. Then began a series of the most terrible and heroic martyrdoms in which thousands of Bahais laid down their lives in the hope "that perchance the people may be warned and may escape from uncertainty and error, that they may fall to making enquiry, that they may recognise the truth as is meet and that they may no longer be veiled therefrom."

Mirza Kurban Ali, a well-known Derwish, who had embraced the new religion, when asked to deny his faith, said : "Were I possessed of the lordship of the world and had I a thousand such lives I would freely cast them at the feet of his friends." Thereupon the sentence was pronounced and the blow of the headman instead of falling on his victim's neck cast only the turban of the old man on the ground. He smiled and raising his head exclaimed :—

اے خوش آن عاشق سو مسست کہ در پا ہی حبیب
سو روستار نہ داند کہ کدام انداز

"O happy that intoxicated lover who at the feet of a friend
Knoweth not whether it is his head or turban which he casteth."

Another incident was that of Mirza Syed Ali, the uncle of the Bab, who, when asked for recantation, said :

اے صبا از من بہ اسماعیل قربانی بگو
زندہ برگشتن زکوئے دوست غرط عشق نیمس

"O zephyr say from me to Ishmail meant for sacrifice
That it is not the condition of good faith to return alive from
the street of the friend."

Hazrat-i-Tahira, who had abandoned everything for the sake of her religion, and who had gone from place to place preaching the gospel of Bahaism, was also at last brought for trial before the king. Nasiruddin Shah and all others present suggested to her that she might deny her faith only temporarily as they did not desire that she should die. To this she made answer that it could not be so as her death might perchance reveal the truth unto them. But Nasiruddin was so struck by the singular beauty of her person that he said to those present

از هیتش خوش می آید بگزار باشد

"I like her looks, leave her and let her be."

After this many efforts were made that she might be brought back to her old faith, but when she persistently refused she was at last presented with the cup of martyrdom, and thus the life of a great poetess, philosopher, linguist and theologian was brought to a close. At this point it is still more painful to call to mind that her fine collection of poems, having fallen into the hands of her persecutors also perished with her and all that remains with us now is no more than four or five ghazals. Professor Browne has published three of these in his book on the Bab and we here take the liberty of

publishing another which has not as yet seen the light of day.

غزل

1. جوانی چه اورد پیری چه بود بست خورد سایه مٹے سالخورد
2. مٹے سالخورد کیک قطرہ اش نخورد آنکہ مرد و نمرد آنکہ خورد
3. بھت خورد سایه کھڑائے درخش نمرد آنکہ دید و نھیں دید آنکہ مرد
4. درایام وصل رخش بار غم نبورو آنکہ بود و نبود آنکہ بود
5. زیل خم دهد ساقئی روزگار یکے صاف صاف و یکے درد درد
6. نباری سعہر فتن نمیدان عشق کہ ازصد هزاران یکے پانشون

غم عشق امروز از طاهرة
کہ هم دل ربا گشت و هم دل سپرد

1. What did youth bring and old age take away?
This brought the young beloved one and that took away the old wine.
2. A wine of such efficacy that no drop of it was tasted by him who died, but he who tasted it died not.
3. Such a young beloved one that her radiant face was not seen by him who died, but he who saw became immortal.
4. In the time of her *was*/ the burden of grief was not borne by him who was present but by him who was not.
5. From the same vessel the cup-bearer of the world gives pure wine to one and dregs to another.
6. It is no matter of play to enter the arena of love, for out of a hundred thousand only one remained firm.
- 7.. Learn of the pathos of love from Tahira, for she became heart captivating and parted with her heart too.
Suleman Khan, who had brought the body of Bab to Teheran, when brought to the court of inquisition, was marked out by his rank for tortures more horrible.

His persecution reminds one of the fate of Latimer, in the time of Mary, who, when the fire was lighted at his feet said to his companion : " We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as shall never be put out " Lighted wicks were inserted in gashes inflicted on the body of this companion of the Bab, who was led through the city led by a procession of a frantic mob. When asked to explain his conduct Suleman Khan said :

د ی شیخ با چراغ همین کشت گرد شہر
کردیو ددمولوم و انسانم آزرسوت
گفتم که یافنت می نه شود گشته ایم ما
گفت آنکه یافت می نه شود آنم آزرسوت

Last night the Sheikh, with light in hand, was seen going round the city in search of some *man* as he was tired of the company of beasts.

" You cannot find," said one, " we have already searched in vain."

But he said " No. But I search that which you cannot find." Thereupon some one of the mob tauntingly asked why did he not dance, and he began singing at the same time.

یک دست جام باده و یک دست زلف یار
قص چنین میانه مید آنم آزرسوت

The cup of wine in one hand and the tresses of the beloved one in the other,

Such a dance it is my desire to have in this field.

The persecutions of the Bahais, though they have very greatly diminished, have not as yet altogether ceased, as only twelve years ago about 300 were put to death at Yezd. There is another incident of recent occurrence which will show that the courage and heroism of Bahai women is no less than that of men. The bridegroom of

a certain newly-wedded wife was torn from her arms by a frantic mob of persecutors and was hacked to pieces. His body was thrown back to his wife by the pitiless crowd who were making a ghastly feast out of his death.

Close to her feet she gazed at it in dread,
Saw in that shapeless mass her loved one's head ;
Then by God's help she took that head so dear,
A prayer breathed over it kissed it with a tear.
Back to the blood hounds threw it with her might,
Aye, even their base souls were troubled at that sight,
Triumphant rang her voice, though from the rack,
"That which to God we give we take not back."

Now before we proceed any further it is necessary that for the comprehension of what is to follow we come to know the principal teachings of the Bab. The doctrines of the Bab are contained in a treatise called the Bayan (The Exposition) which is a revealed book like the Bible or the Quran, as the Bayan itself says :—

” خداوند سوال فرمود بلسان خرد که آیا قرآن کتاب کیست کل مو
منین باو گفتند کتاب الله هست - بعد سوال کرد شود که فرقه در میان
بیان و فرقان دیده می شود - گفتند لا والله بعد خداوند
عالی نازل فرمود که آن کلام محمد رسول الله است و این بلسان من
بلسان ذات حرف السبع باب الله است ”

“God demanded in his own speech ‘Whose book is the Quran.’ All the believers said to him ‘It is the book of God.’ ‘Is there any difference between the Furqan (Quran) and the Bayan’ : The spiritually minded answered ‘No. By God none.’ . . . Then the Lord of the world thus revealed : ‘That word is by the tongue of Mahomed the apostle of God and this my word by the tongue of the person of seven letters the gate of God.’” In the Bayan the Bab announces himself to be the forerunner of a great manifestation of God which is to

follow him. He has appeared to announce the advent of Bahaullah just as John the Baptist had come to announce the approaching manifestation of Christ. As the Sun is greater than the dawn so is this manifestation of God than its forerunner, as is said in the Bayan :—

”قسم جذبات اقد س الهی که دریوم ظهر(من) بظهور الله اگر کسی
یک آیه از شفون و تلاوت کند بهتر است از آنکه غفار مرتبه بیان را تلاوت
کند“

“ I swear by the most holy essence of God that in the day of manifestation of him ‘whom God shall manifest, if one should hear a single verse from him and recite it, it is better than that he should recite the whole Bayan a thousand times.”

The time of the manifestation of Bahaullah was not definitely announced, but it has been asserted by some that the Bab had predicted the year 1852 and exactly in the same year the light of God became manifest. It is with the advent of Bahaullah the prophet that the real history of the Bahai faith begins as it was he who established the religion for which the way was prepared by his forerunner. Bahaullah was one of the earliest companions of the Bab, and had held a conspicuous place among the nineteen gifted persons called the “ Letters.” He belonged to a very rich and noble family which was looked upon with general esteem by all in Persia, as many of the government officials of the time belonged to it. His father was a man of great erudition and learning but Bahaullah having left the house in his early youth was deprived of the advantage of a good education at home or school. He had joined the Bab when still a young man and though deprived of a good education in his early life was possessed of an extraordinary gift of eloquence

After the death of the Bab among many of his other followers Bahauallah was also captured by order of the government and the story of his miraculous escape is very strange. Of the captives one man was taken out of the jail every day to be beheaded in public before a crowd of spectators, of whom many were forthcoming every day. It so happened that all of them, except Bahauallah, were beheaded. On that evening his jailor came to him and said "To-morrow thou shalt also die," to which he calmly returned answer "My God knows better." And so it turned out to be, as on the same evening the English and the Russian ambassadors at the court of the Shah made a very strong protest on behalf of the Bahais and obliged the Shah to issue immediate orders for the release of all the prisoners, of whom there was only one left. Bahauallah, with his family and some followers, was exiled to Baghdad, where a great number of pilgrims learning of his wisdom and holiness gathered round him and became his followers. So it was that in Asia, the well-known land of prophets, there arose another greater light known to-day under the name of Bahauallah, meaning the glory of God. So rapid was the increase in the number of the converts of this new faith that the Turkish Government became alarmed and decided to transfer Bahauallah the source of this new light to Constantinople. What had taken place in Baghdad took place in Constantinople and Bahauallah was removed also from there and sent to Adrianople. It was here that *البراع* or the epistles of Bahauallah were written. These were letters addressed to the kings of Europe as well as to other people containing the message of the new faith and inviting them to assist in the promotion of the brotherhood and the establishment of unity. Mahammed had also written such letters to the kings of Egypt, Roum

and Persia. The late Queen of England like the Qaiser of Roum replied to the epistle with these words : " If it is from God it will stand, if not it will soon pass away," but Napoleon III, the Emperor of France, like the Kai-khusro of Persia replied by an insulting oath, and soon after lost his throne and died miserably in exile.

The Turkish Government wishing to restrict entirely the influence of Bahaullah sent him to the Syrian fortress of Acre or Aaka, where it was hoped that he would succumb to the rigours of the climate. But such was not the will of the Lord. In that arid desert the prophet and his followers were able to discover fountains of fresh water and like the people of Moses inhabited and turned that tract of desert into a garden of roses. The sanitary condition of the city began to change and to-day the holy shrine of Baha, which is surrounded by beautiful orange groves and rose gardens, is one of the loveliest places in Syria. The Bahais in spite of all efforts of the Turkish authorities to the contrary soon learnt the whereabouts of their prophet and hundreds of them came there on foot only to get a glimpse of the master from the window of the prison house. It was here that Professor Browne, the well-known Orientalist, had the great and unique honour of being presented before the master of the faithful with whom he had many conferences. Professor Browne gives a very interesting account of these visits in his book and about Bahaullah he writes thus : " The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. The piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul, power and authority sat on that ample brow while the deep lines on forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in indistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood as I

bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain." At Acre the divine revelation was made complete and the basis of religion setting forth laws and doctrines was established, and the word of God was delivered unto man for his guidance in the form of "Ahd" or "Testament." Before his departure from this world Bahaullah had announced this event in the Book of Covenant in which he had ordered the Bahais to look upon his son Abbas Effendi as the next source of light who would interpret the teachings of Bahaullah to the world after him. Abbas Effendi, who calls himself Abdul Baha (The Slave of Baha), is still living in the prison town of Acre, where a great number of pilgrims from Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India, America, England, France, and Russia, come to sit at the feet of the master and listen to his wise and holy words.

The first law of the Bahai religion is the acquiring of knowledge which is equally necessary for both men and women, for it is only through knowledge that any progress can be made. Bahaullah says : "Whoever provided for the education of a single human child did the most righteous act, as if he had provided for the education of the son of Bahaullah himself."

The position of women has been ameliorated to a greater degree by the mission of Bahaullah than might have been expected from the dispensations of all reformers and prophets prior to him. The seclusion of women has been forbidden, and men are enjoined to treat the fair sex with deference and perfect reverence is prescribed to be observed in speaking to them. It has been said that out of every nineteen gifted persons one is always a woman and thus the general tenor of the teachings of Bahaullah is to

establish a perfect equality between the sexes in their legal, social, and spiritual positions. Women are the companions of men and the teachers of their children.

Strife and contest, which are the result of base instincts and propensities men have inherited from the animals below, cannot be regarded as seemly in men and must now cease for ever. Bahaullah says : "O people of the world, you are the fruit of one tree and the bearers of one branch. Walk with perfect charity, concord and affection. I swear by the sun of truth the light of agreement shall brighten and illumine the horizons. Endeavour to attain to this high supreme station of protection and preservation of mankind. This is the intent of the king of intentions and this the hope of the Lord of hopes. In night and day the cry of the pen ariseth and the tongue speaketh, that against fierceness may arise patience, and in place of oppression submission, and at the time of martyrdom resignation."

Bahaullah says that every people that inhabits this earth will be ruled according as it deserves, but the efforts of men should be directed towards the establishment of democracy which is the only natural form of government, as is said in the Epistles. Bahaullah says : "We hope that God will assist the people of this world to illuminate the earth with the light of justice. At one time we spoke in the language of law, at another time in the language of the truth and the way, the ultimate object, the remote aim was the showing forth of this high supreme station. Communicate it and show it in the language of affection and kindness ; if it be received and be effective the object is attained, if not leave it to him and with regard to him deal not harshly but pray."

In short, as a well-known barrister of New York has written, the social measures which Bahaism advocates

are certainly more enlightened than those which have generally been put forward in the name of religion.

The history of Bahaism covers a period of sixty years and the total number of Bahais, according to the Bahai statistics, has been calculated at seven millions and looking at its rapid growth it can be said that Bahaism has a very bright future before it. Besides the accepted Bahais there is a vast number of close sympathizers between whom and the declared members of the sect there is but one step. The seed which has been cast will be cultivated by God and will bear fruit through the abundance of the clouds of His mercy. The love of humanity will suppress the revolt of individual interest and man will obey the laws that are written on his heart.

ABDURRAHMAN SEOHARVI

LUCKNOW, *15th March 1907.*

Art. VIII.—CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A N event of importance and far-reaching influence was the establishment, on 27th April, 1907, of the Calcutta Historical Society on lines that promise permanence, if the present enthusiasm of the members abides. Nearly one hundred people—all men and mostly Anglo-Indians—attended the inaugural meeting in the Town Hall at which Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal, presided. It was an agreeable surprise to find that the historical associations of one of the famous centres of modern civilisation and progress had a sufficient fascination for some of the most prominent residents to draw them together, at an awkward time of the year, to promote the cult of the antiquary, which has been sadly neglected in this great city of trade and barter. The end of April is perhaps the most depressing time of the year to launch in Calcutta any enterprise, save company promotion. This is especially true of undertakings connected with arts and *belles lettres*. The Court and Society have by then flown to the hills. The remaining population is for the most part absorbed in commerce, with no chance of escaping from its hard materialism. In the circumstances the achievement of the promoters of the new society was a notable one, big with the promise of future success and usefulness. It is heartening to find in the list of those who were present at the inaugural meeting so many Judges of the High Court. We decline to believe that their presence was a mere compliment to their chief. On the other hand, the keen interest they took in the proceedings, and the alacrity with which they allowed themselves to

be elected to the Provisional Committee, proved the sincerity of their zeal, and afforded a good earnest of their intention to nurture a plant, which at its very birth gave signs of a sturdy growth. The Society was also fortunate in its first list of patrons. They are important enough to be enumerated here:—H.E. the Earl of Minto, Governor-General of India; Lord Kitchener of Khartoum; Lord Curzon of Kedleston; Lord Reay; Lord Avebury; H.H. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal; The Most Rev. Dr. Copleston, Metropolitan of India; The Very Rev. Dr. Brice Meuleman, Archbishop of Calcutta; Dr. H. E. Busteed, C.I.E.; Sir Ernest Cable; H.H. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar; H.H. The Maharajah of Durbhangā. They are all men who are proud of being citizens of the second city of the British Empire, and to all of them, it may be said with truth, the epicene rôle of figurehead is abhorrent. The greatest stroke of luck to which the Society can point is the capture of Mr. Robert Dunbar as Secretary, and the Rev. W. K. Firminger as editor of the quarterly magazine which is to shed light on the historical obscurity of Job Charnock's "Ditch." The former is a working journalist of tried ability, generous outlook, and a robust energy that is infectious. His *forte* is organisation rather than research, and he supplies the indispensable leaven to kindle a lump of *literati* into a living organisation of the work-a-day world. The Rev. W. K. Firminger is the worthy son of a worthy father. Calcutta is the city of his adoption, but it would be unsafe to say that it is second in his affections to the home of his forefathers. No better selection could have been made for the editorship of *Bengal Past and Present*, the first

number of which has been issued as we are going to press. A perusal of its delightful pages, more especially those given up to the "Leaves from the Editor's Note Book" recalls quaint old Isaac D'Israel's description of a literary antiquary, "fervent in sagacious diligence, instinct with the enthusiasm of curious enquiry, critical as well as erudite." Mr. Firminger is all this and more, for he possesses an amount of journalistic flair, uncommon in a man whose life is passed in a perpetual *voyage autour de ma chambre*. Mayhap he owes it to Mr. Dunbar, his chief of the staff. We shall not presume to apportion the merit of a quality indispensable to the success of any periodical in these piping times of up-to-dateness. The journal is a credit to the Society. Its literary promise is alluring, and will undoubtedly attract the attention and enlist the co-operation of men of culture, to whom the object of the Society must appeal with the crooning note of a much-loved parent. The format of the book is agreeable and convenient, showing the high level to which artistic publication can attain in Calcutta when undertaken by a well-equipped establishment like the Edinburgh Press. We have said enough in this brief notice to justify our opening proposition, that the establishment of the Calcutta Historical Society is an event of importance and far-reaching influence. It but remains for us to wish it godspeed. *Der Historiker ist ein rückwärts gekehrter Prophet*, and as such we honour the Society.

P. L.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

CALCUTTA OLD AND NEW. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City. By H. E. A. Cotton. W. Newman and Co., Calcutta. 1907. Rs. 7-8.

THE work before us, which is really the fourth edition of Messrs. Newman and Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, has been entirely rewritten by Mr. Cotton, and divided into two parts. Of these the former is intended to give the reader an idea of the historical associations of Calcutta with special reference to buildings that have disappeared and places that have seen changes. The second part is designed to serve as a guide-book to whatever may be worthy of note in the capital and its environs as they exist to-day.

Mr. William Foster, Record-keeper at the India Office, who has seen the proofs, describes the book as an "excellent piece of work"—an opinion which no fair-minded critic will feel inclined to dispute. Dr. H. E. Busteed also—and can there be any better judge?—considers that nobody in this generation is so well qualified by his special knowledge, aptitude and lightness of touch, to undertake the work, as Mr. Cotton is. With these opinions before us it would be presumption on our part—even supposing for a moment it were our intention to do so—to decry the book. Let us, however, judge for ourselves as we go along.

The Introduction, to begin with, is pleasingly written. Old celebrities are recalled to the reader's imagination : Hicky, the father of the Calcutta Press ; "Padra" Johnson and his Begum ; the aged missionary, Kiernander ; the beautiful Miss Sanderson ; Tiretta of Bazar fame ; Charles Weston, the country-born philanthropist ; the great Pro-Consul and his "elegant Marian ;" the Monsons, Clavering, and Francis, and Madame Grand, the goddess of beauty. These and a hundred other shadows seem to beckon to us across the bridge of a century. We have neither the time nor the space at our disposal to follow the author through the sixteen chapters in which the history of Calcutta is told, from the 24th August 1690 when, on the final British occupation of the deserted village of Sutanuttee, it was

founded by Job Charnock, to the Metropolis as we see it to-day. The historical part has of course been told before, but the amount of labour and research bestowed upon it by Mr. Cotton himself has been prodigious, and deserves to be recognised accordingly.

Among the chapters that would seem to call for special notice are those describing the pictures in the Town Hall and in Government House, as well as the Victoria Memorial Collection regarding the dispersal of which, however, a decision has recently been announced. To some at least the snow-white Taj of the twentieth century would seem almost as much a problem of the future as Lady Curzon's Fountain which "will (it is understood) be shortly placed upon the grass plot which immediately faces the new Military Secretariat Buildings." Here the author strikes, unconsciously enough, a chord of the tenderest pathos which will find an echo in the heart of every reader. Other particularly interesting chapters are those headed "Historical Houses and Famous Localities," "The Park Street Cemeteries," and "Up and Down the River," the last two being the work of the author's brother, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., whose articles in the *Calcutta Review* are already well known and greatly admired. Although not professing to be exhaustive, the Bibliography given in the Appendix will be found helpful.

It was pointed out quite recently in the pages of this *Review* that the old tradition of Surgeon Gabriel Boughton's having obtained certain trading concessions for the English owing to his curing the Emperor's daughter, had been exploded by Dr. C. R. Wilson. Similarly the legend of Job Charnock's rescuing a comely young Hindu widow from the funeral-pyre and making her his wife—first narrated by Captain Alexander Hamilton—had also been dissipated in the Diary of Sir William Hedges. According to the latter's account which is somewhat less romantic, Job was residing at Patna with a Gento female, whose husband was still living or but lately deceased. The woman had absconded with her former lord's money and valuables, so the nabob, to whom a complaint was made, sent a dozen sepoys to seize Mr. Charnock.

But on the latter's escaping (or bribing the men) they got hold of his *vakil* instead and imprisoned him for a couple of months, the soldiers continuing to watch the Factory gate all that time until Charnock compromised the matter for Rs. 3,000, besides some broadcloth and sword-blades. Now it is probable the true story was known to Mr. Cotton who refers more than once to Hedges' Diary; in that case it would seem a pity that while reproducing the old legend he did not trouble to make the corrective entry. This is, however, one of the few spots on the sun.

It might have been stated at the outset that the volume appears a bit too bulky for an ordinary handbook. Its *errata* too is rather a lengthy one. This last may, however, be a fault on the right side, tending as it does to disarm criticism, especially when it is borne in mind that the book contains more than a thousand pages. But what seems to us to call for some notice is the repetition in respect of the admirable biographical notices interspersed through the volume. For instance, in the chapter on "Hastings and Francis" there is a long foot-note on Madame Grand while several pages are again devoted to her in the chapter on "Belvedere and Alipore." Under "The Park Street Cemeteries" Rose Aylmer has half a page to herself, besides four other references elsewhere, saying almost the same things. There is an account of Sir Benjamin Malkin at pages 510-511, followed by a second account of him after an interval of only eleven pages. All that can be gathered about Tiretta is practically repeated in different parts of the book. Martyn's Pagoda at Serampore, also, is described in two places. Several other instances of this nature could be cited. Perhaps no great harm is done by these repetitions, but it is just the need of a little judicious pruning in this direction that has swelled the book out to its present dimensions.

Who, by the way, was "Asiaticus?" Mr. Cotton, as others before him, assigns the pseudonym to Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope. Whereas from the British Museum Catalogue, Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms, a Dictionary of Literary Disguises*, and Sydney Grier's collection of the *Letters of Warren*

Hastings to his Wife, "Asiaticus" would appear to be a Major John Scott Waring. Like the authorship of "Junius" this point has never been settled.

Is it quite correct to say, as stated in the Introduction, that "not a vestige remains of the Old Fort," when we are told, at page 433, "the sunken arches immediately in front, where the Post Office wagons are now kept, constitute all that survives of the Old Fort?" In the chapter "Citizens of no mean City," an interesting description is given of the *Kintals*. The word is not traceable in *Hobson-Jobson*, but it may be noted that our author applies the term not to the *bastis* or dwellings where persons of that class reside, but to the inhabitants themselves who are popularly known as *Kintalis*.

Messrs. Steuart and Co. have vacated their old place of business behind St. Andrew's Kirk, referred to in "Calcutta a hundred years ago," so recently that the change has not been noted. This is also the case in regard to the Opera House which has but lately been levelled to make room for the new Theatre that Messrs. Mackintosh Burn and Company are erecting in Madge's Lane.

Unfortunately the Handbook is not illustrated, beyond the two plans of the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. It would doubtless have added to the importance of an already good book if, apart from pictures, any of the old maps of Calcutta, such as those of Upjohn, Wills and Wood, which are so frequently referred to in the text, had been reproduced.

We propose now to give two or three extracts as instances of the style in which the book is written, and with this object have selected, almost at random, a few on different subjects.

The first is from the chapter headed

"Calcutta a hundred years ago."

"Nor was the climate the only obstacle to enjoyment. The mosquito, like the poor, is still with us, but somehow or other age (or shall we say sanitation?) has improved his manners, and he does not torment us as much as he did our forefathers. Time was

when his ravages earned for him the respectful tribute of the poet:

"With many a drowsy nod
I paid dull homage to the sleepy god :
But nought the sofa's easy length availed,
A ceaseless hum my listening ears regaled:
Mosquitoes swarmed around, a thirsty throng,
Raised the red bump, and tuned the hollow song."

But that was in 1811, and the reign of the petty tyrant is all but over to-day. We no longer resort for immunity to the singular expedient, of which Grandpr  tells us, of wrapping pasteboard round our legs, if we have to stay indoors for any length of time. Nor was this the only subterfuge of suffering Anglo-Indian humanity. " You should always contrive to have some blooming youth fresh from England to sit next to you ; they are sure to go to him :" was the advice given to Lord Minto by " Bobus " Smith, his Advocate-General, who combined with that office the higher distinction of being the brother of the famous Sydney. As for the ladies, poor souls, they thought nothing of three weeks' confinement as the result of mosquitoes. Miss Eden, in her entertaining *Letters from India*, speaks of such an event as quite an ordinary occurrence. " Nobody can guess what these animals are till they have lived among them," she writes in March, 1836, a few days after Lord Auckland had been sworn in as Governor-General, " many people have been laid up for many weeks by their bites on their first arrival." A week later there is another entry in her diary : " Sir Charles Metcalfe, who has been here for thirty years, says they bite him now as much as they did the first day ; and many people seem to be confined for months after they first arrive, from the inflammation of the bites." Nor less a scourge was the prickly heat, if we are to credit Lord Minto. " To give you a notion of its intensity," he writes from Madras, where he stayed with the Bentincks on his outward journey to Calcutta in 1807, " the placid Lord William has been found sprawling on a table on his back : and Sir Henry Gwillion, one of the Madras Judges, who is a Welshman, and a fiery Briton in all senses, was discovered by a visitor rolling on his own floor roaring like a baited bull." We have only to compare the recital of these agonies with the boast of many a tough old *qui-hye* of to-day who will tell you that mosquito-curtains are an unknown luxury to him, and that prickly heat is never suffered to disturb his equanimity ; and we shall find ourselves beginning to wonder how people ever lived in Calcutta at all a hundred years ago."

The next extract is taken from

"The Park Street Cemeteries."

" It is not easy to exhaust the interest of these old Calcutta graveyards. They are something more than mere fields

where the dead are stored away unknown. They are a touching and instructive history, written in family burial plots, in mounded graves, in sculptured and inscribed monuments. They tell us of the past, its individual lives, of its men and women, of its children, of its households. We find no such record elsewhere of the price paid for Calcutta by generations of by-gone Englishmen, who lived and died at their work. To the reader who desires to study still further these mortuary memorials there is a comprehensive Directory of the Dead to hand in the "Bengal Obituary" published in 1848 by a firm of Cossitollah undertakers. This volume preserves not only the epitaphs of the multitude that have disappeared, but summarises in thumb-nail sketches the careers of the many notabilities whose deaths are monumentally recorded in the now closed-up graveyards of the past." The last is from

The Metcalfe Hall and Imperial Library.

"The conditions under which literary research and study were performed carried on before the establishment of the Imperial Library can be faintly realized by supplementing by a few concrete examples the words of Lord Curzon which we have just been quoting. A certain Mr. Andrews, who had a circulating library in Calcutta in 1780, complains in an advertisement of the loss he has sustained "owing to gentlemen going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the Library, or having any books belonging thereto." He adds that "books are kept too long, and in many cases cut, or leaves are torn out." We fancy if the truth were known, that the experience of the Calcutta Public Library during its life of sixty-five years, would not be found to differ greatly from that of Mr. Andrews. It is heartrending to take copies of the original first edition of "Waverley" or "David Copperfield" or "Pride and Prejudice," and to find page after page disfigured by an unsightly stamp which gives the book the appearance of a branded sheep or waler horse. But even such heroic precautions would seem to have been futile. While the British Museum copy of Hicky's Gazette, the earliest newspaper in India, is page-perfect though incomplete, its fellow in Calcutta, which was once the property of the Public Library, has been in places mutilated, and the unique page containing the account of the duel between Hastings and Francis has been cut out by some literary miscreant. The Government Departments had no better part to play. When the Imperial Parliament took over the business of governing India from John Company in 1858, Sir George Birdwood tells us that one of the first acts of the new masters of the Indian House was to order a general sweep to be made of the old records that

from 1726 had been preserved there with scrupulous solicitude. No less than three hundred tons of priceless manuscripts and volumes were sold to a firm of paper-makers to be boiled, bleached and basked into low-class paper pulp. In India similar and even greater follies have been consistently perpetrated. As early as 1756, we read in a despatch from the Court of Directors that a leaf torn out of the original diary of Surman's embassy to the great Mogul in 1717 "was picked up in a public house * * *, and is now in our hands." The briefest enquiry will show that more than one volume of the secret correspondence of Clive and Watson is missing from the series of Government records in Calcutta, and the whereabouts are totally unknown of the original deeds of St. John's Church which in the time of Lord Cornwallis were certainly in the possession of Government. Even more glaring perhaps than the sins of commission have been those of omission. Much of Sir Thomas Munro's original correspondence lay long unheeded in the dingy cupboard of a mofussil Collector's office in the Madras Presidency. So too at Chittagong, there were to be seen twenty years ago quite a number of official documents, a few entirely in the handwriting of Warren Hastings, and all bearing his signature and those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering and Monson. It is impossible to say what has been their fate; but it is more than probable that an iconoclastic record-keeper can account for the disappearance of many that the white-ants have spared. And there are illustrations as melancholy to be found among the records in Calcutta itself. It is positively distressing to send for the files of the *Times* or of the local newspapers in the endeavour to elucidate some knotty point in the history of the city. The Government officials in whose custody they formerly reposed, have neither troubled to keep them up-to-date nor scrupled to use the scissors when some particularly interesting paragraph chanced to meet their eye."

The book is well printed on excellent paper and is bound in cloth in either coral or olive-green: which of the two colours is the more agreeable it would perhaps be difficult to decide. It should not take long to exhaust the first edition, and then it might become possible to bring out a second, say, in ten or twelve monthly parts, revised, and illustrated with plans, portraits and views.

Even as matters stand, there is little doubt that Mr. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New* will immediately take rank as the best book of its kind. Its value as a work of reference is

considerably enhanced by an index of forty-four columns of close print, a feature we miss even in Dr. Busteed's delightful "Echoes." In fine, both author and publisher have as good reasons to feel proud of their work as, after its perusal, Calcutta residents will have to be of their city.

THE ROMANCE OF AN EASTERN CAPITAL by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A.,
I.C.S., etc., with thirty Illustrations and a Map. London : Smith
Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1906.

We have often wondered why Anglo-Indian literature is at so low an ebb. Is it because British India lacks literary men of high attainments or because they contemn it as a field of exercise? The latter is certainly the more probable reason. It cannot be denied that some of the brightest stars of English literature first took their rise on the Indian firmament, though unfortunately they did not choose to put forth their lustre here. The slashing Junius, the philosophic Mackintosh, the brilliant Macaulay and the eloquent Maine, not to mention the lesser celebrities, all served this country but did little to enrich Anglo-Indian literature. It is true, the reading public of India is neither so respectable nor so appreciative as that of England, but it is a mistake to suppose that the dignity of literature suffers because of the smallness and comparative littleness of the audience. The accession of first-class men would make the republic of letters in India respectable, and their respectability would add to the respectability of the reading public. Literature is not for one country, but for all countries, and if anything really excellent in thought, sentiment and style should appear on the banks of the Ganges, it would be honoured with equal avidity on the banks of the Thames or of the Rhine. We wish educated Englishmen who come to this country and are supported by its revenues or natural resources would bear in mind their obligation to it and make a return for it, not simply in the shape of official or professional services, but in divers ways falling within the scope of their abilities and opportunities. In the past century there were men who were fully alive to this obligation and to them Anglo-Indian literature owed the position it

had attained. It was men of this stamp who made the CALCUTTA REVIEW in days gone by a respectable and respected organ of educated English opinion in the East.

Unfortunately for India, Anglo-Indian literature is now at a low ebb. Throughout the country, first-class literary performances are rarely to be met with. Everywhere there is lack of literary activity, and the laudable zeal for literature which was so brilliantly displayed by the Anglo-Indians of the past century is now almost absent in their successors. Under such depressing circumstances when a genuine literary spirit is bound to exclaim

"Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink"

it is refreshing to have "The Romance of an Eastern Capital" by Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt. It is a good book, though slightly spoiled by a little indiscretion. It has got all the characteristics of a good book, its style is narrative, its sentiments are natural and its thoughts are poetic. The author has tried most successfully to tell the story of the Capital of East Bengal in popular form; his narrative is readable and charming; his method of treatment has not greatly deviated from the standard of accuracy which distinguishes all great historical works. In making his book romantic, he has not sacrificed the historical investigations which have thrown a flood of light on the mediæval history of Bengal. In all respects, Mr. Bradley-Birt's latest work on Dacca is a creditable performance.

The new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam is really fortunate in one respect. No sooner was its formation proclaimed in the Government Gazette than two eminent Civil Servants had come forward to chronicle its past history. Mr. Gait's Assam and Mr. Bradley-Birt's Dacca have given us an historical account of the two portions of the new province. Both are very good and reliable works. We have already reviewed Mr. Gait's work, and it is our present pleasant duty to critically notice Mr. Bradley-Birt's "Romance of an Eastern Capital." In the first chapter, our author has made a little indiscretion for which we are sorry. By introducing and discussing that much vexed question—Partition of Bengal—and by supporting the fact by debatable arguments he has jeopardised an essential attribute of an historian—impartiality. A historian must not be biassed in any way; he must look

fairly and squarely in the face of all events ; judge dispassionately and unprejudicially all public events and suspend his judgment on heated political questions till the effervescence of controversy die out in time, allowing all sediments of party fanaticism to fall to the bottom. Then and not till then could the historian be able to judge a political event from many points of view with that impartiality and dispassionateness which are the primary attributes of great historians. Partition of Bengal is still a debatable question ; controversy regarding its utility is still furiously raging ; even the Mahomedans of the new province are not unanimous on the point ; most of the high Government officials are at variance in their opinion on the high feasibility of the measure. When the case is such, is it wise and judicious on the part of the historian of Dacca to express his opinion on the great controversy as a controversialist and wrangler ? Certainly not. When his work is meant as a history, it must be impartial. Hence by introducing the question of Partition in his book as one of its partisans, he has slightly spoiled the value of his book, which but for this defect would have gone down to posterity as an immortal work on Dacca. Well-conceived, well-written and well-executed, the book is an excellent reading minus the author's misdirected special pleading for the Partition of Bengal.

The second chapter begins with an account of the kingdom of Vikrampur on the left bank of the Ganges locally called the Padma. According to legend Raja Vikramaditya made the place his home. But when and how we do not know. Nothing is known of the place after its founder till the eighth century A.D., when the Buddhist kings of the Pala dynasty made it one of their headquarters. By that time Buddhism spread all over western, northern and eastern portions of what we now understand by Bengal proper. Southern Bengal, or that portion of the country now triangular in shape which is bounded on the north and east by the Ganges, on the west by the chain of hillocks which run from Balasore coast to Monghyr through Santhal Parganas and on the south by the Bay of Bengal, was then only a shallow portion of the sea and was slowly emerging from the bosom of the deep. This portion of the country is essentially a tertiary strata which was slowly recovered from

the sea by some natural causes. Tamralipta, Satgaon, Vikrampur and Sonargaon were only ports on the border of this watery region. At Vikrampur the Pala kings must have made one of their principal residences, for here for some time Buddhism flourished greatly. We learn from Thibetan literature that in the eighth century A.D. Shanta Rakshit, who was high priest of Odantapuri (in modern Bihar sub-division and who visited Thibet in that century) was born at Vikrampur. In 1048 A.D. Dipán-kura Sriyana, the celebrated Atisha of Thibet, went there from Vikramshila of which he was the high priest. He was born in Vikrampur. The university of Vikramshila and the royal monastery, Deva Vihara, attached to it, which was founded by King Dharma Pala in the eighth century A.D., must have been situated in Vikrampur. The description of Vikramshila that has come down to us tells that it was situated on the top of a hill on the left bank of the Ganges. Vikrampur was, and still is, on the left bank of the Ganges. The fact that Vikrampur is an ancient place of Sanskrit learning leads one to infer that under the Buddhist kings of the Pal dynasty it acquired that character as the university of Vikramshila. The following account of the famous Buddhist university is an additional reason for holding that Vikramshila was situated at Vikrampur. All around the central building of the Vikramshila, but at short distances from the Deva Vihara, there were erected 107 temples and a wall surrounded them all. The King, Dharma Pala, furnished it with fifty religious establishments and founded a university with six colleges and employed one hundred and eight professors to teach the pupils. In the central building called "The House of Science," the monks of the monastery studied *Prajñā Páramita* scriptures. It was during the reign of King Bhaya Pala that the university was placed under the supervision of six Dwára (door) pandits and that the sage Jetari had established a *chatra* or hostel for supplying food gratis to the pupils at Vikramshila. There were four colleges at the four gates of the monastery, where pupils had free access for the purpose of study and which were presided over by the Dwára pandits. The two pandits who taught theology in the central college were called the first and second pillars of the university. For

the support of the resident pupils of the four colleges at the four gates but inside the monastery, four *chatra* (free board hostels) were established for the maintenance of the scholars. They were endowed by the princes and nobles of the country. In the beginning of the tenth century A. D. a *chatra* was added to the *vihara* by one of the sons of King Sanatan of Varendra (modern Rajshaye). That prince had entered the Buddhist holy order and became known by the name of Jetari (the senior). The university successfully worked for four centuries, being managed under royal patronage by a board of six members presided over by the High Priest. Their decisions were honoured by the Governor of the *vihara* who was responsible for its moral discipline.

The above account is gathered from Thibetan sources. In the seventh century A. D., the noted Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang (or more correctly Yuan Chuang) came to India, lived for five years at Nalanda (near Gaya) and then started eastwards. During this journey he came to a country or kingdom called Samatata at the junction of three great rivers, the Karatoya, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. This coincides with the site of the ancient kingdom of Vikrampur, which rose in power and fame during the eighth century, when the Pala kings made it a seat of their government. Samatata might have been the early name of Vikrampur. When Hiuen Thsang went to Samatata, he found Buddhism there in a declining state, having had only 30 sangharamas with 2,000 priests, who belonged to the Sthavira school, i. e., the school prevalent in Ceylon. Nigranths or Jains were numerous. Brahmanism was also flourishing, having 100 deva temples. The Thibetan account quoted above and which was of a later period confirms the fact mentioned by Hiuen Thsang that there were 100 temples in Vikrampur, which was no other than the capital of the kingdom of Samatata. Inspired with religious zeal, the Pala kings of Bengal greatly revived the religion of Buddha in Eastern India, and most probably it was under that enthusiasm they helped the spread of Buddhism, not only in Thibet, but also in Burma, Chittagong, and other places of the further East. It was from Vikramshila that the great Buddhist

missionary Shanta Rakshit went to Thibet to preach the revived religion under the patronage of Dharma Pala, and it was from that place that Buddhism went to Burma and Chittagong. In the eighth century Vikrampur became the centre of the Buddhist propaganda. For two centuries (not a thousand years as our author in his romantic mood tells us) the Buddhist kings of Pala Dynasty ruled in Eastern India. Towards the middle of the tenth century, a king, by name Adisur, wrested the supremacy from them and founded a line of kings in Eastern India known in history as the Sen kings of Bengal. Under their rule, Buddhism totally collapsed in Bengal proper, and Brahmanism regained its lost position.

The revival of Hinduism in Bengal under the Sen kings forms a grand chapter of Indian history. For nearly a thousand years, the great Indian schism of Buddhism, driving before it or suppressing the older Hinduism, had reigned almost without interruption and in all glory. The Reformation of Sakya may be said to be a Bengali movement. Springing from Gaya, Buddhism counted these provinces for its earliest as well as last home—the land where it flourished longest and best. The empire of Magadha may at its zenith have embraced a large part of Upper India, but the Magadha kingdom nearly always included Behar and Bengal. The whole of the latter was dotted with Buddhist principalities—fiefs of Pātaliputra.* Fah Hian embarked for Ceylon in a Bengali vessel at Tamralipta, a port of the Magadha kingdom. But Hinduism had not been rooted out, only suppressed. It was the more zealously cherished in secret—in out-of-the-way places, in forests and mountain retreat, or simply in the recesses of the heart, the more that it was sought to be stamped out by main force instead of the people being quite convinced out of it. As both were indigenous faiths—indeed, phases of the same worship, arising out of philosophy common to them—and not differentiated by differing peculiarities of costume and ways in every particular of life, not to say embittered by antagonism of race or by sense of foreign subjection, it was easy enough to believe in and even to practise Hinduism without attracting notice of the followers of the dominant heterodoxy. So when in the course of centuries, the force

of the new Creed spent itself, and it lapsed from its pristine purity into the old Hindu corruption of Tantrikism against which it had been a pest, the sturdy and obstinate professors of Hinduism issued forth from their hiding places again into the light of the day. Hindu authorities again commenced to jostle Buddhist monks in the street and the *ghat*, Hindu *grihasthas* (householders) again jostled Buddhist merchants in the busy mart. A few opportune conversions of princes and ministers and leading men once more turned the tide in favour of the hitherto persecuted Religion.

It was thus that Bengal, long Buddhist under the sway of the Magadha Empire or, in later times, under the reign of her own Pal kings, gradually veered toward the ancient Faith, even during the latter years of the last mentioned dynasty. It was not, however, till the suppression of that line by the Sura royal race that the reclamation began in right earnest and progressed on a large scale. The new epoch commenced with Raja Adisur. He was the Constantine of Hinduism (as it were) for Bengal. He established Hinduism as the State church. Buddhism is comparatively a barren philosophical creed which could hardly make much popular impression anywhere save among races so given to speculation as the Asiatics. Still, were it not for a great reaction in the national mind, it is hard to suppose it would displace so essentially human and popular like a creed as Hinduism. But now another reaction had taken place. At least there was little to choose between the two religions on the score of moral vitality, and the time was come when the pomp and circumstance of Hinduism could again appeal with full force to the longing hearts and starved imaginations of the people. The materialism of Saky Muni had lost its charms for them, and they were ready to confess themselves human and weak. At this juncture came the revival of the eleventh century. Adisur took advantage of a temporary period of great alarm and anxiety from a threatened famine to inaugurate it formally. No more convenient moment of national weakness could have been selected for securing to the multitudinous rites and imposing ceremonial of Hinduism its full effect on the multitude. We may at least be certain that at any other time and on any

other occasion, it might have been difficult for the Government to take a successful census of the two religions and the principal tribes and castes.

The country was suffering from a great and long drought. No rain had fallen for months. One year, or perhaps two, had apparently passed away without water from the heavens, and the first showers of the next season had also been withheld. Much distress had in consequence been felt throughout the country, but a continuance of the drought through the present year would be almost universal ruin. The king bethought of taking his measures in time. The usual administrative steps were not forgotten, but he knew that a great famine was a visitation of God most hard to deal with. He remembered that there was no strength like divine strength, but he knew also that the orthodox and pious might borrow that strength of Heaven for their own purposes. Whether it was under the influence of a Brahman minister or confessor or not, we do not know, he thought of performing a fiery Vedic sacrifice for the good of his kingdom and his subjects. With this view he called for qualified Brahmans and Pandits. But neither fiery Brahmans nor learned doctors were to be found in all his dominions. Enquiry brought out the fact that Brahmans worthy of the name there were none. There were Brahmans to be sure, but only in name. They had all degenerated into citizens and chiefly agriculturists who knew not the *Gayatri* not to say the other parts of religion, and hardly retained, their very holy thread. So far from being able to officiate at the ceremony, they were hardly proper objects of ceremonial charity. In this stress, the king resolved upon renovating the lost creed in his kingdom, fitted out a great embassy to the then great Hindu Kingdom in the North-West—Kanouj—to ask of its King a present of five fiery Brahmans well versed in all the intricacies of Vedic ritual and enlightened by knowledge in general, for not only officiating at the intended *yagna*, but also permanently settling in Bengal. The Lord of Kanouj was, no doubt, highly flattered by such a message. He perhaps the more readily acceded to the proposal, as it was of the utmost importance to spread the

Hindu influence, Buddhism still being a bugbear in the imagination of the people. But his influence could hardly succeed in inducing five such men among the best of his citizens to undertake in that age—not to say, accept—such an exile. The proclamation, however, of the terms of His Majesty of Bengal and the hope of reigning as the aristocracy of a great Kingdom, called forth one after another five volunteers of the desired qualifications. Thus they came—Sriharsa, the poet of the renowned *Ratnavali*, Vedagarva, Chandar, Daksha and Batta Narayan called the Bard—accompanied by the families and dependants and servants and settled in Bengal at the respective villages of their choice, of which they acquired the freehold. And a true aristocracy they became. Of high reputation and consideration in their native Kanouj, here they were more than Munis and Rishis—gods. They walked the earth as the lords of human kind. They looked down with supreme contempt on the poor degraded Brahmans of Bengal. The other castes were of course of no account after that. To prevent a possible confounding of their dignities with the other Brahmans, an elaborate census of the latter was taken throughout the King's dominion when they were found to number seven hundred families in all, and these were separated and hedged in from the illustrious new-comers and left to pine away and rot in bitterness of soul. Their descendants are to this day known as the "Saptasatis."

In the course of time, the five multiplied into, we know not, how many thousands and degenerated amidst the baser surrounding influences of Bengali society and under inevitable demoralisation of a privileged order, until it became necessary for Ballal Sen, one of the successors of Adisur, to purify it. He, therefore, instituted the famous Order of Nobility known to this day as Kulinism, which was but a selection of the best of the descendants of the five progenitors into a hereditary peerage, on the basis of the possession by each of nine virtues and accomplishments. All the favours of the King and the honours of the State were lavished upon those who succeeded in passing the dread ordeal of establishing their possession of so many titles to respect. Not only the first prize men, but their sons and

grandsons enjoyed them and their descendants to the remotest generation were to do likewise. It was a peerage, in fact as such, hereditary with its privileges. Yet, unlike feudal peerages, it is not limited by primogeniture, its privileges being heritable by sons and even daughters alike. After the first *competition*, it was a matter of blood relationship, until in another generation another examination of claims to respect and with it another weeding of the unworthy and re-adjustment of precedence among the passed peers, took place. It was only in happy times—at least in periods of quiet at home and peace abroad—that such a thing could be. It was only by a powerful prince commanding the ready allegiance of his powerful priesthood and spiritual peerage who could undertake such a reform. It was a wise, pious prince who would care about it. During the remaining Hindu period—from the institution of the Order under Ballal the Great to the last Lakshman or Lakshmaniya, who fled before the Tartars of Baktiyar Khiliji—there does not appear to have been any necessity for re-examination. The Kulins deserved their social pre-eminence. The descendants were not unworthy of their ancestors. From generation to generation, the fathers carefully brought up their children, and inheriting the fathers' disposition and, generally, qualities, and profiting by their instruction and example, the sons trod in the ways of their sires. The consideration and dignity of the houses were maintained. As the sires so were the sons, poets and philosophers, statesmen and lawgivers. With such an overwhelming majority and the tone which so many good and intellectual characters gave to the upper classes of society, we may well suppose the possible exceptions few and far between of stray recreants to have fled the country in shame and for ever disappeared. Yet the thing could not, in its nature, endure without occasional revision. Even if the exceptions did not actually multiply, if abuses did not arise, at least accidents could not, during a long course of time, be prevented. Under any circumstances it would have been extremely difficult to maintain the purity of a nobility consisting of a comparatively limited number of families, limited in their intercourse by the inexorable rules of Hindu exclusion. The marriage institutions of the Hindus are so sacred, and among the superior classes

they are so strictly followed, that even to this day the Brahmans can trace their lineage to half a dozen or so of the early forefathers of mankind, yet the same tribe or *gotra* does not marry within it. Given the members of one tribe, however numerous in one country, they must die out, or marriage being out of the question, degenerate into a degraded incestuous breed of pariahs. It was in view of this difficulty that the colonists invited from Kanouj were of the five different original stocks ; for then no more than now could a Mookerjee marry a Mookerjee, and if some of the colonists or some of the stocks had proved barren, the sphere of marital alliance would have been very inconveniently circumscribed.

Kulinism among Brahmans, in equalising all sons irrespective of precedence follows the equitable principle of the Hindu law of inheritance. As the holding and estate of the first colonists were divided between the sons so were the privileges and honours enjoyed by them equally inherited. It is mere feudal prejudice that objects to the principle of equal division. Against the undoubted practical evils of sub-division on ancestral estate, the Hindus have a remedy in the practice of undivided Joint families. The custom of many great families of Bengal has grown into a common law which has modified the original Hindu law. The numerous trusts and attempts to create perpetuities are attempts in the impossibility of fresh legislation on Hindu law under a foreign *régime*, to prevent the effects of sub-division which may follow from a literal carrying out of the law. Two causes seem to have influenced the attempts. The one, encouragment of accumulation and enhancement of value of land under the British rule which have multiplied *ad infinitum* the number of large estates. Formerly only a few zemindaries were large and valuable ; even their tenure was uncertain. But they were regarded as principalities or officers and were rarely divided. The insecurity of wealth encouraged imprudence and extravagance. The knowledge of feudal tenures and inheritance of testators and the advice of English lawyers have induced in some zemindars the ambition of founding families. Or rather the ambition was dormant and natural, but political causes hitherto repressed it as impossible of fulfilment.

In the above rather long account of the revival of Hinduism under King Adisur and the origin of Kulinism among Bengal Brahmans under his successor Ballal Sen, the author will surely find something new and original to his acquired knowledge on the subject. The minutiae of regenerate existence are always a stumbling block to European intelligence, and hence it is not surprising to find the author despising Kulinism as a means to polygamy. Like him, those who have indulged in this diatribe against the Order of Nobility founded by Ballal Sen show a lamentable ignorance of history, of even contemporary history, by supposing that polygamy flourishes only among the Kulins or that Ballal's Kulinism introduced it for the first time into Bengal or even gave it a new impetus (*vide* the author's remarks in p. 38). The fact is well known that polygamy prevailed among all the four orders of the Aryan settlers in India. In the age of the *Mahabharata* this was undoubtedly the case. The Sanskrit equivalent for *wife* has no singular form. It is always a plural substantive. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in his celebrated second pamphlet on polygamy, made a heroic attempt to prove from the Hindu Scriptures that a Brahman cannot lawfully take more than one Brahmani wife. A verse of Manu, describing a fanciful *state* of society, was the foundation of the Pandit's argument. Kshatriya chiefs, who were certainly included by Manu in his *Dwijatinam* of verse 12, chapter III, took as many wives as they liked from their own order. No doubt, among the Kulins of Bengal, exceptional individuals here and there might have been seen with more than dozens of wives. But the rule was otherwise. For every 99 Kulins having each a single wife, only one might be seen with a plurality of spouses. Among the earlier Crotriyas themselves, plural marriages were not rare. In a country where marriage is looked upon as an obligatory ceremony, where grown-up maidenhood, instead of being an honour, is looked upon as a social disgrace, where perpetuation of lineage is regarded as a sacred duty, where the population consists of more women than men, polygamy will become a necessary institution. Total husbandlessness, besides, is a greater evil than the position of a co-wife. Mormonism was the necessary development of the glut of

marriageable women in the matrimonial market of the West. The rapid growth of Utah under both Smith and Brigham Young proved that polygamy is not that rotten excrescence on the social body which demands instant amputation. The sentimental is not the only consideration involved in the question. Social reformers are always carried away by their zeal in a particular direction with eyes blindfolded. Like the Spanish philanthropist, Las Casas, they can take away the fetters of the American Indian for binding therewith the African Negro, quoting Scriptures as their authority. Sexual misery forms an infinitesimal portion of the sum total of human misery on this earth. Millions in Bengal live upon only one meal a day and own wretched huts for sheltering themselves against a burning sun, drenching showers and the cold night dew. They are shoeless and wear rags from year's end to year's end. Only philanthropy that is microscopic can select sexual misery for treatment and cure from among the vast mass of misery that sits on this land. What would these persons have? Hindu girls growing up in single blessedness all round them and remaining maidens to their death day? If such a prospect cannot hurt their feeling, consistency should dictate a suspension of gush at the sight of neglected co-wives even if the latter were numerically ten times larger than they really are. Hence all sober and knowing men must hold that the institution of Kulinism as first devised by Ballal Sen had nothing of evil in it.

In the third chapter we are given the history of Sonargaon—the Subarnagram of Buddhist Sanskrit works. There are several mentions of this town in the ancient Pali works, which show that Buddhism once flourished here with great vigour. The celebrated Subarna Vihara was situated in Subarnagram. Even in Thibetan history there are several mentions of Subarnagram—the modern Sonargaon. It is true that at present the place yields nothing in respect of proving that Buddhism once flourished there, but that must not go to convince us that it was not a Buddhist city at one time. Revived Brahmanism under the Sen Kings and then Mahomedanism have obliterated all traces of Buddhism in Subarnagram in much the

same way in which the latter has destroyed all traces of Zoroastrianism in Azerbaijan—a region in North-Western Persia which was historically connected with Zoroaster's name. From the very beginning of the fourteenth century Sonargaon became the seat of Mussalman Power in Bengal. The rise of Dacca as capital of Bengal dates from 1608, when Islam Khan, the Mogul Viceroy, transferred the centre of Government to Dacca to ward off the piratical incursions of the Portuguese navigators. Under Mogul *régime*, Dacca became a chief commercial and manufacturing centre of India. To almost every country in the world Dacca sent her produce. Her muslins, the true romance of the Eastern Capital for its fineness and exquisite delicacy, received a great impetus from imperial patronage. It is a pity that the author has not written more largely upon the manner in which these true "romances" were manufactured. No illustration of the loom is to be found in the book in which the muslins were manufactured. No description of the cotton is to be found from which the threads were spun. Of the present state of the famous industry we have not been favoured with an account. But we have been favoured with an account of how it declined under British rule. To crush Dacca's famous industry the English Government put a prohibitive duty of 75 per cent. on Dacca manufactures. This gave a deathblow to the famous industry. The Dacca spinners and weavers losing their lucrative profession were obliged to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—a fact which may go to convince those who hold that India is prospering that at least the Dacca weavers did not prosper under the British domain.

Altogether Mr. Bradley-Birt's present work is a creditable performance. Before him nobody seriously wrote the history of Dacca nor even attempted to do so. To collate the materials of its early history and to put them into the pleasant narrative form are all his work. And he has done his work very satisfactorily. We have read his book with great pleasure. His style of narrative is well calculated to please his readers. In reading the history one does not feel the heaviness of such literature—it is delightful, readable and informing. To write history in the

popular form is not an easy task ; before Macaulay no one tried to handle this manner of writing history. With his extraordinary power, Macaulay wrote the history of England in a peculiarly pleasing style which greatly made history popular. Our author follows the great historian's method of treatment, and we sincerely believe that he has really told the Romance of an Eastern Capital most popularly.

Report of the Administration of the Excise Department in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the years 1905-1906.

THIS is a very interesting report and even to "the man in the street" the subject is one of vital interest. To make people sober by administrative act is, of course, an impossibility and a serious improvement can only come through educating the people. We see in paragraph 28 of the report that "Drinking is largely indulged in by Hindi-speaking races, aborigines and mixed tribes, and to a much less extent by Bengalis while Uriyas are almost total abstainers ; consumption also varies inversely with the proportion of Muhammadans in the population. This is, of course, what we should expect to find, that the more civilized races are the more temperate races.

In the case of opium-smoking it is very difficult on any grounds to defend the practice and though it may be a source of profit to the Government every effort should be made to keep the trade within bounds. Of course it does not follow by any means that the increased revenue is due to an increase in the habit and it may be largely due to better supervision. Nevertheless we must look to it that the revenue shall be a diminishing one, but this is hardly in the province of the Excise Department, whose duty it is to see that the trade in illicit opium is reduced to a minimum. The difficulty of dealing with the so-called clubs in Calcutta is self-evident, but our administrators have the remedy, and this is a case where their acts can make people temperate and sober.

General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1906.

NEARLY every report on Education in India as in England always contains the statement that education is starved and

it is peculiarly the duty of the Reviewer to see to what extent this statement is true. We have seen the outcry at home on the ever-increasing education rates and constantly see the assertion that we are over-educating. Now it may be that both these views are right and that it is perhaps due to the stand-point from which people view the question that we get such diverse opinions. One observer sees the deadly ignorance of the mass of the public and wishes to clear away the mist from before its eyes, to improve, to elevate and finally to produce the perfect citizen. The other sees the half educated specimens, the product of our present-day education, and blames education generally for the dismal failure. As in all things we achieve success by many and costly failures and it cannot be otherwise when we are educating, as we are, in large quantities. A little progress must then satisfy us so long as that progress is continuous and here in this report we fancy we see such progress as we are looking for. If the profession of teaching has such improved prospects as to attract a better and more highly qualified class, if the attendance roll of scholars has increased, and if, though the grant from Government has been almost doubled in twelve years, it is still possible to ask for more without creating an outcry of over-educating the mass, then this is progress indeed. After all it is so simple to the mere critic. First produce your teacher, pay him well and the rest will follow. The finest buildings in the world with an under-paid staff will always prove a bad investment of the public money.

Monograph on Stone-carving in Bengal, by. E. B. Havell.

A VERY well got up little *brochure* on the fast disappearing art of Stone-carving. We are very apt to blame the age in which we live as a materialistic one and deadening to all true art. The reason of the decadence of art is not entirely due to this. No doubt the rush and struggle to be wealthy, or in many cases even to earn a living, has deadened the artistic taste, but is not all this again a question of education? The strenuous life is not necessarily dead to artistic influence and it is due to the want of knowing better that our homes are not furnished

with artistic furniture and that our buildings are eyesores rather than things of beauty. Gradually there has been a slight improvement in the last twenty or thirty years in England, and may we not hope to see it opened to India? We may take it as a maxim that any city deserves the buildings it has, and not till it can educate itself to higher things will it attain them. Pampered Art is of little practical value, and at the best may serve to keep alight the knowledge of "how to do it?"

Indian art can only be kept alive if there is a public that can appreciate it, and it is impossible to introduce it into the modern European building, which is as a rule purely utilitarian in spirit.

**Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the years
1905-1906.**

ONE paragraph of this report is most interesting to the general public, namely, the one which deals with the efforts of the Excise administration to prevent unauthorised production of liquor in Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Amritsar and Jullundur, which, up to 1905, had totally failed to make any impression on the evil. The experiment consisted in the granting vend licenses to sell at lower rates country liquor 25 per cent. below proof on low fixed fees.

Naturally a considerable increase in the consumption of licit liquor amounting to over 98,000 gallons, and this is attributed to the substitution of licit for illicit drinking. The idea underlying the experiment seems to be that if the Government can get hold of the total supply even at a sacrifice of revenue for some time it will be the more difficult when we begin to tighten the reins for the trade to go back into its old illicit channels. This is a more than usually interesting experiment and should be watched with the keenest interest. It is, perhaps, a little too early to judge from the results the success or failure of the experiment up to this point and *a priori* reasoning is always apt to be defective. We can say that it is a serious effort to combat a serious evil undertaken after much thought and it is to be hoped that it may prove successful when, having got the trade into its own hands, the Government puts on the screw.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN INDIA, by A. Yusuf Ali (Mr. John Murray.)

THE nucleus of this volume is formed by lectures delivered by the author at the Passmore Edwards Institute and elsewhere. It aims at giving a comprehensive picture of the life of the people of India and an estimate of their social tendencies. Mr. Yusuf Ali has an easy cultured style, and a decided gift of graphic description and here and there in his book there are evidences that he possesses also the rarer gifts of the seeing eye and the sympathetic touch. The book is a decided acquisition, as is every carefully executed literary work written by a native of India who has enjoyed the advantages of a good Western education. It is to such writers as this author that we must look to produce that good understanding between Englishmen and Indians which will weather all storms of party politics. The book is well illustrated and excellently printed. The pictures of the village wall and the village school are works of art in themselves.

**THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1618—1621, by William Foster.
(Clarendon Press, Oxford.)**

THIS story of the early difficulties and struggles of the five English factories in the dominion of the great Mogul is very interesting reading. After a full and well-written introduction the compiler has wisely left the documents to speak for themselves. They bear record of arduous and devoted effort on the part of the early traders to do their duty alike by their employers and their country. Among the technicalities of merchandise there are many human touches, and an occasional flash of humour or indignation diversifies the narrative. The spelling would in many instances rejoice the heart of President Roosevelt.

THE ANCIENT WORLD, by C. W. Whish. (Luzac & Co.)

THIS second volume of Mr. Whish's reflections on some leading facts and ideas of history : their meaning and interest is stimulating and brightly written. In so comprehensive a survey as the author has attempted of course only the merest outlines can be drawn of the giant forms of the empires and

nations of the past. But the book should be valuable as a guide to students of history, and as calling attention to regions which as yet have been insufficiently explored.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K. C. S. I.
(Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

THIS book is a revised edition of a book published in 1898. It is a digest of the statute law, which, in the author's opinion, needs revision and consolidation. The historical introduction which introduces the purely legal portion of the book is luminous and suggestive.

HER MAJESTY'S REBELS, by S. R. Lysaght. (Macmillan & Co.)

THOSE of us who are old enough to remember all the political history of the last stage of the Victorian Era may be inclined to question the right of this novelist to model his plot so closely along the lines of actual historical happenings. But that is the only word of criticism that can fairly be passed upon a work of fiction which is otherwise striking and full of interest.

JOHN GLYN, by Arthur Paterson. (Macmillan & Co.)

MR. PATERSON'S book is evidence that the study of social work has lost some of its importance and necessity in these days. But this story rather records the strenuous endeavours of the workers than presents any practical solutions of the conditions that make the work so necessary. We are all familiar with the problem. What we need is a solution.

A short account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India ; with a sketch of the Land Tenures, by B. H. Baden-Powell, C. I. E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Second edition, revised by T. W. Holderness, C. S. I.

THE reviser states in a prefatory note that he has confined his alterations and additions to administrative and legal details which necessarily in process of time undergo change. Otherwise this well-known work is re-issued unaltered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT 5.

*Monograph on Stone-Carving and In-Laying in the Punjab,
1904-05. Lahore.*

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THE quarter just ended was more than ordinarily fruitful of events of the greatest political importance. Foremost in the list was the publication in the last week of August of the letter of the Government of India to the Provincial Governments regarding the scheme devised by Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, and Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, to give the people of India a larger share in the government of the country. It embraced the formation of an Imperial Advisory Council and Provincial Advisory Councils; the enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils; and a reform in the procedure of discussing the Provincial and Imperial Budgets. It was received with a chorus of praise in England, the Press of every shade of political opinion declaring it to be an effort of the highest statesmanship. In India on the other hand its reception was very mixed. The whole Hindu Press, which since the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the introduction of coercion in the Punjab and Ebassam, and the prosecution of several Hindu papers for sedition, is in a condition of open revolt, ridiculed it unmeasuredly. "We asked for bread, they give us a stone." The special solicitude shown in the scheme for Mahomedans, whose interests are to be safeguarded in a marked degree,

Legislative Reform.

excited the hostility and scorn, of Hindu publicists, infuriated by a tactless insinuation that a predominance of lawyers in a Legislative Council did not help efficiency and progress. Nearly all the Hindu papers of note are edited by legal luminaries and this bold reflection on their class was unbearable. The Anglo-Indian papers welcomed the measure with moderation and insight, acknowledging that it was a great step forward in the direction of representative government. They praised the formation of the Advisory Councils, just the point where the Hindu publicists aforesaid joined issue.

By the enlargement of the Legislative Councils the

The Enlarged
Councils. number of members of the Viceroy's
Council, will, if the proposed scheme is
generally approved by the Provincial

Governments, be increased to 54 including the Viceroy. Besides the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in which the meetings of the Council are held for the time being, the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of the Executive Council, there will be twenty additional officials to be nominated by the Viceroy ; a Ruling Chief also nominated by the Viceroy ; elected members by the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, and by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Ebassam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma ; a new class of representatives to be chosen from the landed aristocracy of these provinces ; members elected by Mahomedans ; non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, not less than two to be Mahomedans ; and lastly experts to be nominated by the Viceroy, when necessary, for special purposes. The bid for Mahomedan support in the troublous times that loom ahead is open and unabashed, and has naturally

provoked the Hindu resentment. Some Anglo-Indian writers complain, with a great show of reason, that the non-official European community, especially the great planting interest in Bengal and Ebassam, has been entirely overlooked in the scheme as it stands at present. The Government of India, however, invite suggestion and criticism and advertise a readiness to remove glaring flaws. The one part of the scheme which is universally commended is the proposed reform of the procedure at the budget debates. The old symposium of what Lord Curzon sarcastically called "manuscript eloquence" was a ponderous farce, and it is hoped that something approaching the common sense method of the House of Commons will be adopted.

The India Council Bill.

In the beginning of August, Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, introduced in the House of Commons a bill to amend the India Council Act, his chief object being to make room for two natives of India, whom he had decided to appoint. The chief features of the new bill were that it altered the constitution of the Council by fixing the number of members at a maximum of fourteen and a minimum of ten : reduced the period of absence from India, which does not disqualify for membership, from ten years to five, and the term of office from ten to seven years ; assigned a salary of £1,000 for future members, instead of £1,200 ; and repealed the Acts of 1876 and 1889. The number of members was originally fifteen, in accordance with the Act of 1858, but under the Act of 1889 was reduced to the minimum of ten, which Mr. Morley has retained. The bill met with no opposition in either House of Parliament and was passed into law before the prorogation three weeks later. Mr. Morley immediately made the appointments

he long had in mind. His choice created general surprise in this country and also a good deal of irritation among educated Hindus. They fully expected that Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt would be selected ; but Mr. K. G. Gupta, one of the Senior Bengal Civilians, received the honour of being the first Hindu member of the India Council. But for the prevailing political discontent we believe that Mr. Gupta's well merited preferment would have been acclaimed by his own countrymen, who not long ago complained bitterly that his legitimate claim to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal had been ruthlessly overridden. The Mahomedan representative chosen by the Secretary of State, was Syed Hosein Bilgrami, the famous Minister for Education to the Nizam. There was not a dissentient voice against his selection. The introduction of natives of India in the India Council is a reform for which the people of this country have much reason to be grateful. We believe that the consequences will be far-reaching, and India will soon have cause to bless the enlightened statesmanship and broad sympathy of the biographer of Voltaire.

The cry against over-centralisation in the administration of India had become so clamant that Decentralisation. in his speech on the Indian budget in the House of Commons before Easter, Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, promised to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the evil and report as to its best remedy. The announcement gave universal satisfaction which rose to something like enthusiasm when Mr. Morley redeemed his promise towards the end of August. The following gentlemen were appointed to form the Commission :—Sir Henry Primrose, K. C. B., C.S.I (chairman) ; Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C. S. I. ; the Hon'ble Sir S. W. Edgerley, K. C. V. O

C. I. E., I. C. S.; R. C. Dutt, Esq., C. I. E.; W. S. Meyer, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S.; W. L. Hichens, Esq. (members); H. Wheeler, Esq., I. C. S. (secretary). Nobody will complain that there is any lack of talent or experience in the constitution of this Commission, which will arrive in India in November to open one of the most important enquiries of modern times. Sir Henry Primrose is the present Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in London. He was Private Secretary to Lord Ripon when Viceroy of India, and later to Mr. Gladstone. The Indian Civilians are too well known to require description. It is to be devoutly hoped that the report of the Commission will be submitted before age compels Mr. Morley to divest himself of an harness he wears with such advantage for India.

Although sedition and discontent are only skin deep in India yet the surface affected is wide-spread. There were prosecutions during the quarter in the Punjab, Bengal,

Sedition. Ebassam, Madras, and Bombay. The United Provinces alone escaped the epidemic, a circumstance chiefly due to the great tact and sympathy of Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor. In the Punjab the editors of *India* published at Gujranwalla, and of *Hindusthan* published at Lahore, were convicted and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment. The political rioters at Lahore and Rawalpindi were also severely dealt with. At Calcutta the editor of the *Yugantar* was sent to gaol for twelve months for seditious writing; and Bepin Chunder Pal, the notorious agitator, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment for contempt of court in refusing to give evidence for the prosecution in the case of *The Crown vs. Bande Mataram*. It did not improve the condition of things in Ebassam that the rioters of

Commilla were released on appeal to the Calcutta High Court by Justices Mitter and Fletcher, who reversed the sentences of the lower court. Students grown desperate by the diminishing prospect of employment in the public service are the chief factors in the prevailing agitation, which for the most part is grossly seditious, and the difficulty of dealing with them adequately yet humanely is seriously embarrassing the authorities. It is significant of the times that the Indian National Congress is being daily more discredited even by the men who were among its founders, but who now espouse the extreme policy of boycott and racial hatred. This phenomenon is most pronounced in Bengal and bodes ill for a restoration of tranquillity.

The whole of the Bombay Presidency was thrown into profound grief by the resignation Lord Lamington. in July of Lord Lamington, the Governor, owing to the serious illness of his wife. Few Governors have left India amid such manifestations of regret and esteem. It is a striking illustration of the old truism that in India it is the ordinary and not the superior person who becomes popular. The late Governor was not too intellectual to be unsympathetic, and was sensible enough to avoid even the appearance of aloofness and detachment. This bonhomie charmed the quick-witted inhabitants of the West, who are extremely resentful of supercilious superiority. To show their appreciation of his work a Parsee of wealth and a Jewish millionaire placed in Lord Lamington's hands a lakh each to be applied to any purpose he should approve. He greatly increased his reputation and hold on the affection of his late subjects by giving the money to the Nursing Fund. Mr. Morley is always springing surprises by his excursions out of the beaten track.

Such was the emotion excited by the report that Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the well-known writer on military affairs, who relinquished the Governorship of Victoria in 1901 to become a member of the War Office Reconstitution Committee, had been selected to succeed Lord Lamington as Governor of Bombay. It would be difficult to name two public men so different in outlook and experience. Yet the publicists at home aver that Bombay will not lose by the change.

Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has been aptly called the Apostle of the Industrial Regeneration of India. We are all acquainted with his work in this direction when he occupied the position of Member for Commerce and Industry during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The great event, however, of his evangel was the summoning of an industrial conference at Naini Tal on 19th August. The summons was

answered from all parts of India by officials and non-officials who have given their whole life to the cause Sir John has at heart. It was the most representative gathering hitherto held to grapple with the weighty problem of industrial and technical education for India. His Honour opened the conference with a speech of great eloquence and interest. It was a comprehensive survey of the efforts of Government for over twenty years and a summary of the practical results. His prayer was the weaning of a portion of the population from purely agricultural pursuits in order to recognise the great advantages of industrialism. "We must" he said "educate skilled labour for all our industries. We must develop among our workmen an interest in their work to replace the feeling that the day's work is only done for the day's wage; and we must bring up educated foremen,

supervisors and managers. We must encourage research into the potential value of our raw produce. Secondly, we must endeavour to overcome the shyness of capital, and success in this respect cannot be achieved unless the leaders of the people throw themselves enthusiastically into the work." Encouraged by the enthusiastic applause of the whole Indian Press, European and Native, the conference sat until 31st August, and projected a scheme for the United Provinces, which Sir John accepted as thoroughly practical and promising. He has since gone to Simla to convert His Excellency Lord Minto, the Viceroy, to his views. "If he succeeds," says a servid admirer in a Calcutta weekly journal, "it will be well not only for the United Provinces but for the whole of India; for in the parochial scheme he takes with him lies the germ of a great imperial enterprise such as Lord Curzon would have revelled in." We cordially endorse the sentiment, and congratulate the people of the United Provinces, that instead of having the nights made sleepless by the bogey of unrest, their satrap is able to employ his exhaustless energy and remarkable talent in the exploitation of the economic resources of his dominions.

Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament it was announced in London that an agreement had been entered into with Russia to define the spheres of influence of England and Russia in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The agreement was ratified on 23rd September and was hailed by the whole European press as a splendid guarantee of the peace of the world. It lays the bogey of a Russian invasion of India through Afghanistan, and removes all chance of friction in the commercial exploitation of Persia by the high contracting parties. Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, has certainly acted *dextra tempore*.

*Anglo-Russian
Agreement.*

PREFATORY NOTE

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

Art. II.—ALONG THE YANG-TZE KIANG.

CHAPTER X.

OUR first thought was that they wished to stop our march, or at least to ply us with questions. But this was not their object. Having hardly looked at us they proceeded to set up their flags in different spots and to unsaddle their horses.

They were obviously only the outrunners of a larger band, whose advance guard soon appeared. It consisted of about fifty men, practically all armed and riding small Tibetan ponies like those in the neighbourhood of Sining-fu. Some hundred yards behind them came a second corps, containing personages of greater importance evidently, for they were not armed, and for the most part rode haughtily on caparisoned mules. Great herds of tame yaks followed, loaded with provisions and driven by men in rags. A small troop of armed men closed this imposing procession.

We counted two hundred and twenty men altogether, rich merchants, lamas in red and yellow robes, soldiers, and yak drivers. About sixty were armed with rifles of Chinese manufacture, and some ten carried carbines slung across them which seemed to me to be either Mausers or Winchesters, of an old fashioned type. In the eyes of their fortunate possessors such weapons

are of inestimable value. They often fail to procure the special cartridges necessary for these arms, but the very fact of possessing a foreign made rifle gives its owner an assured position of respect and impunity. One gentleman caught my eye particularly. He wore, under the usual red Chinese button, a forage cap which must have belonged to one of the English soldiers who fell in the Tibetan expedition to Lhassa. The sight of this trophy set me thinking. We had heard hardly anything of this little war, and I wondered for a moment what reception was awaiting us in the south, and whether our arrival might excite a desire for vengeance to which we should fall easy victims.

All the members of this caravan, however, seemed well disposed towards us. As we passed them many greeted us with the words "rao ma," which mean "good horse," a formula which is a customary compliment interchanged by those who meet by chance in the deserts.

The passage of this large caravan lasted nearly an hour, a stream of peaceful life amid the surrounding sterility. We were far from the out runners and their flags when we saluted the rear-guard, and after they had all disappeared behind a hillock the desert looked emptier than ever, and the sense of isolation weighed the more upon us from having been momentarily dissipated by the passing of this great band of pilgrims.

For they are true pilgrims, these men who go to Lhassa in piety and true faith through all the many dangers that beset them in such regions. They face the cold, the brigands, and the heights that prove fatal to many. Mingled among the devout are found merchants and practical people, whose desire to receive the Dalai Lama's blessing is accompanied by a desire to fill their

pockets. This year moreover they had to do without the holy man's benediction, for he had fled at full speed northwards from the khaki clad soldiers of England to seek shelter among his Russian friends who were also being hardly dealt with by the Fates. For some time the exact point on the Russian frontier to which the chief of the Tibetan Church had guided his mule was uncertain. A Zaidam Mongol had told us as we came through that country that the Dalai Lama had crossed the Naitchi a little to the west of the point at which I desired to cross it, and that he was proceeding by forced marches to Ouliousoutrai, with only three attendants, levying food and mounts from the scanty population on his way. These poor folk thought nothing of losing their horses in return for a few minutes sight of the features of him who is God to them. From Ouliousoutrai the Grand Lama was going on to Ourga, and as we rode slowly on along the track marked by the pilgrims I could not help reflecting on the extent to which history repeats itself. Etiquette changes, and morals vary but religions flourish everywhere. They all reach the same result. A small class of the self-styled elect is maintained by the credulity of the public. As elect they claim the right to distribute at their will the blessing of heaven. All pilgrimages, whether to Lhassa, Mecca, the great temples of China, the Mosques in Africa, or the churches in Rome, spring from the same fundamental principles, and produce the same golden results.

After this eventful day we found the next especially monotonous, the more so owing to rain, which fell unceasingly throughout it. This was the beginning of the real rainy season, very like that of India during the monsoon, the only difference being that the monsoon breaks about three weeks later in Tibet, and that more rain falls.

We encamped that evening on the banks of the Oulang Muren, a great river which flows into the Yang-tze Kiang. Judging from its breadth the crossing bid fair to be very difficult, and as I sat up for an hour's vigil, I did not look forward to it. The river ran silent and mighty, swollen by the rain and occasionally sweeping down a portion of ground which its resistless waters had carried away.

I shall never really understand how we got across the Oulang Muren. Never during our whole journey was our little caravan so nearly lost and yet on August the 19th we were all safe and sound on the other bank, having only lost a few of our beasts.

We began the crossing on the 18th early in the morning. I rode the strongest mule we had and ventured into the water to try and find the shallowest place. The river was divided at this point into eight streams, separated from one another by what appeared to be small islands of pebbles and loes, and I hoped to give my beast a rest on each island. But I had hardly reached the middle of the first stream when my mule lost its footing and began swimming valiantly. We went down stream about two hundred yards before its hoofs touched ground again, and I did my best to guide it to what I believed to be a haven of refuge. To my despair, and indeed terror, it had scarcely set foot on the first island when it sank up to the body. It was a quicksand! I realized at once that if I stayed in the saddle I was lost, and, helped by the instinct of self-preservation, I threw myself off and rolled on the sand-bank. I felt it give way under me, but lying on my back and opening my fur cloak I extended myself sufficiently to prevent being drawn into the dreadful abyss. Instead of trying to escape at once I took some minutes

to consider the situation, for the slightest wrong movement would have been fatal. I saw my mule, poor beast, disappear inch by inch, and in less than three minutes the sand had closed again over its head. This spectacle aided my decision and after a few minutes I made up my mind to roll sideways towards the river bed, which was only three or four yards distant. Little by little I executed this manœuvre, and reached the water. Once there my task was simple. I left my fur cloak and swam. The water was so cold that I could hardly breathe or strike out, but at length I reached the shore and soon after the camp, from which my wife had been following the various stages of my adventure with great anxiety.

It was madness, therefore, to attempt a crossing here, but it was not easy to find a better spot. For some furlongs both up and down the river looked just the same, streams of water intercepted by sandbanks.

Suddenly a ray of hope dawned on me. A troop of wild yaks were preparing to cross the river in the distance and where these huge and heavy animals could pass we could doubtless follow. When I had seen them manage it safely I ordered the camp to be struck at once and the whole caravan made for the point which seemed to promise an easy crossing. The yaks' instinct had led them right, for where they had crossed the waters of the Oulang Muren were narrower, and enclosed between banks of earth and gravel, not shifting sand. Unfortunately the current was swifter and the water deeper. Only the camels could keep their heads above the level, and so all the baggage had to be sent over on them, while the horses and mules swam over as best they could. We set to work hard, and, the rain having ceased, the start of our operations was easier than I had dared to hope. We were con-

gratulating ourselves on our success when a fearful storm burst suddenly and oceans of rain descended upon us. I have never seen heavier rain, and we soon noticed that the water level was rising and the current becoming perceptibly swifter. The camels could hardly keep their balance, and the mules were carried down some five furlongs before reaching the opposite shore. However as there was very little baggage left to transport I decided to get it all across before night. It was an unlucky decision, for owing to a sudden swirl in the current the last camel which was carrying 400lbs of rice lost its footing and disappeared with its valuable load. This was a great loss to us. We could have lived for several days on 400lbs. of rice, and the other provisions were nearly finished, thanks to the voracious appetites of the caravan drivers. Moreover that was not our only loss during this lugubrious crossing of the Oulang Muren. Three mules, which had been left behind by negligence browsing peacefully, when they saw the caravan established on the other bank, tried to cross on their own account. All were carried away beyond reach of help by the waters which had now grown angry and much swollen. For four days we continued our march across country made up of small hollows and bluffs of friable rock, having reached the banks, of the Yang-tze Kiang the day after crossing the Oulang Muren. This huge river was, where we struck it, confined in a narrow bed, and the water was obviously deep. It flowed over gravel, and the high water mark, many yards above its level then, proved the size of it after the melting of the snow. Pasturage was richer and more frequent here. Large herds of wild yaks evidently came to feed upon it, and I had the luck to kill one of them, which afforded juicy beef-steaks to all. We had had no

meat for five days, and Europeans do not live contentedly on rice and millet, whatever the Chinese may do. Occasionally we had to cross little tributaries of the Yang-tze Kiang, but they gave us no difficulty, the only inconvenience attached to them being the icy baths they forced us to take. During these few days of quiet travelling, I observed that many of my men found it hard to drag themselves along. Lao Tchang, a Leantchoü man, seemed the most afflicted. He appeared to be overcome with somnolence which he could not shake off. At night he threw himself on the ground and never stirred till next morning. He could not be relied on to watch the beasts at night, but as he retained an excellent appetite I did not know what to make of him. The moral condition of the men was also far from satisfactory. The grumbling and discontent of early days had been replaced by a kind of hopelessness much more disquieting and difficult to deal with. Their easily depressed imaginations had been powerfully affected by the sight of the snowy mountains in endless range behind the long plains, and by living in a country where no human being had apparently ever penetrated. Encountering a large caravan armed with rifles and yet seemingly afraid of brigands had done nothing to raise their spirits, and I began to have great difficulty in ruling my little army.

On August 23rd we could see in front of us the white peaks of the Dangla Mountains. To the south they seemed to erect a barrier difficult to traverse which yet had to be overcome if we wished to trace the Yang-tze to its source.

The aspect of the country had changed. We had to keep close to the river to avoid the rocky spurs which ran out from small overhanging bluffs, and our march

became more difficult. The river had evidently forced its way through narrow gorges, and I doubted much whether we should be able to go far under these conditions. Towards evening a huge perpendicular cliff came straight down to the water in front of us, and we had to make a circuit round it which took us three hours and brought us an interesting acquaintance. As we went down again towards the Yangtze along a narrow and precipitous little valley, we came upon an encampment of Thibetan hunters of wild yaks. It lay behind a mass of fallen rock.

We were very surprised to see them, clothed in their sheep skins, but our surprise was nothing to theirs. They gazed at us for some minutes, and then one by one they began to escape towards the neighbouring heights. They were evidently very much afraid of us, and our magazine rifles, which they thought boded certain death, did not help to restore their confidence. However we managed to catch one of them, and by fair words and the gift of a few pieces of sugar, of which Thibetans are very fond, we convinced him that our intentions were peaceable. Then he collected the dispersed members of his family and did us the honour of his dwelling. I hardly knew how to describe it. It was not a hut, nor a cabin, but a heap of rags in the shape of a tent, open to wind, rain, and inspection from without. I have never seen a more miserable concern and hope I never may. In a space of about ten square feet a family of eight enjoyed the sweets of existence together. Their dress suited their environment. Shreds of sheep skin partially covered them, and the cold wind blew on their bare skins without appearing to inconvenience them. The women looked still more wretched than the

men. They were as nearly bestial as human beings can be.

Their method of life hardly tends to civilise them. They spend their time hunting wild yaks with guns of a primitive type, like the old matchlocks preserved in museums, and when they have succeeded in bringing down their quarry, they quarter it and cut the flesh into strips to make the dried meat, which they sell in the winter at Lhasa or Shigatze. With the few taels which they get in this way they buy a little more powder, and go off on a fresh expedition into the most desolate regions of Thibet.

These half savage hunters and the brigands who are always lying in wait for the pilgrim caravans are the only people who live for a few consecutive months in the zone of the high central plateau. They are seldom met with, for they conceal themselves carefully. Having spent a quiet night close to the yak hunters we went on along the Yang-tze with more hope and perseverance than success. In fact we had hardly covered two miles before the road became absolutely impracticable for the mules and camels. The rocks descended precipitously into the strong stream, and our only chance of progress lay in climbing the promontories, five or six hundred feet high, which blocked the way. In spite of the fatigue caused by this I had decided to go on till we were stopped by some really insuperable natural obstacles. We came upon them before very long. One promontory which we tried to surmount ended in a rocky *arête* about a hundred feet high, which nothing but an *eyis ammon* could have negotiated. I was therefore compelled to turn off into a valley which left the river at an angle of fifty degrees to the west and seemed to debouch into a wide plain in the direction of the Dangla Mountains.

This valley and its continuation nearly proved to be the conclusion of our journey and the grave of our caravan. During the three days that we spent in it we suffered more and worked harder than in all the rest of our crossing of Thibet taken together.

Here we fell in with the worst enemy, the irresistible, clinging, ubiquitous, insidious, enemy—mud!

My readers probably cannot realise what mud means in Thibet, accustomed as they are to be annoyed at a few inches of it, for which they indignantly blame some negligent Municipality. In Thibet the mud after a thaw in some valleys and hollows which have no outlet extends for miles and miles at a stretch, and is occasionally so deep that it cannot be fathomed. Animals disappear in it as if in a quicksand, though more slowly. And when one realises that throughout a whole day's march one does not come across one square foot of ground that will bear one's weight, one can understand that a day's journey under such conditions is fearfully trying and that the nights are even worse.

For three days we had to struggle incessantly to keep our balance, and the difficulties of our own progress were less than those experienced in getting the beasts forward, in raising them when they fell, which they did at every other step, in reloading them, coaxing them along, and rescuing the more valuable portions of their loads when they at last fell exhausted to rise no more.

Our attempts to find firmer ground nearer the mountains were all in vain. The soil appeared moister than ever, and we soon gave up trying it. What we had to do was to reach the Dangla Mountains as soon as possible. Their rocky and frozen sides afforded a haven of refuge. Of the fifty mules that we had with us when

we began crossing this sea of mud only six remained when we reached a wide and long valley with a gentle slope which led to one of the snowy passes lying to the south-east of the great semi-circle formed by the Dangla Mountains to the north.

For two days hail had been falling incessantly, but a few minutes after our weary feet rested once more on solid ground, the sky cleared suddenly and there was even a ray of sunshine.

We were more like a ship-wrecked crew than an exploring caravan. Nearly all our provisions had vanished, and the caravan had altogether about four days' nourishment, consisting of flour, rice and millet. We had not a scrap of meat, and the few peas intended for the surviving mules had perished with the animal that carried them. Many of our cases containing Mongol and Thibetan curiosities were buried deep in the mud, and I must admit that at first this loss distressed me more than that of the provisions. I soon altered my opinion, but at the time I hoped to be able to shoot enough game to satisfy our needs.

One by one we had been compelled to leave our poor mules to the dismal fate of burial in the mud. One by one they had formed for a time a black patch on the red mud, for an hour or more staring straight in front of them, their large eyes full of terror, and one by one they had wholly disappeared. The sight was most distressing, and our distress was aggravated by the thought of our own fate if all our beasts of burden were destined to die in this way.

On August 27th we began the ascent of the Dangla Mountains from the East and not by the Western passes. I wished to make sure of striking the Yang-tze again after crossing the great intervening glaciers. We

met with no great trouble to begin with, and the valley along which we went, though sloping steeply upward, seemed a real velvet carpet after the dreadful road of the past few days. The rocky ground bore no trace of our passage, and it was a pleasure to step out without our feet sinking in mud.

For seven hours we marched between the mountain chains, whose peaks grew hourly nearer and whiter, and after a last hard climb of some half hour's duration, since the loose stones slipped from our feet, we reached a glacier at the top of the pass. Just at first I thought we could not cross it, for we could not expect our beasts to scale a precipitous glacier, but I luckily found on careful examination a small path to the side of it between an old moraine and the mass of ice. I directed the caravan along this, and we reached the top of the glacier. The view was magnificent. To the north we could detect in the far distance the lines of the plain, and of the mud that had cost us so much. To east and west were the innumerable snow peaks, and lastly to the south the glacier we had climbed ran down from valley to valley in waves of ice to several hundred yards below the level on which we stood. A blazing sun, such as we were not to see again for weeks, shone on the crest of glaciers, and the wild and fantastic *coup d'œil* partly repaid us for the troubles we had undergone.

Going down along the dangerously steep bed of a torrent formed under the glacier by the melting snow we reached its southern base and encamped there, near a small growth of grass which though scanty enough could meet the needs of our sorely reduced number of animals. I calculated with my instruments the height of the pass and of our camp. The height of the top

of the glacier was 20,600 feet and that of the camp 19,300. In spite of this altitude and of our famine-stricken state we were not uncomfortable, and should have enjoyed a well-earned rest had not several men at nightfall reported the absence of Lao Tchang. I had last seen him slowly climbing the last stage of the glacier, and, as he was evidently exhausted, had unloaded a mule and sent it to him to bring him in safety. Since then no one had seen him. He could not have lost his way, for our tracks on the snow were easy to follow, and his disappearance was inexplicable. It was the more surprising since in spite of his constant fatigue he had an excellent appetite and no one had ever known him to be a minute late for a meal. I hoped that he would turn up in the morning with his mule, having simply slept out all night, but by 8 o'clock he had given no sign of life, and I sent a search party to the spot where I had seen him last, consisting of two men, two mules, and some food. I deplored the necessity of losing a day at such a height and in such an inhospitable locality. There were no traces of game, and we had only two days' provisions. To complete the situation the rain had begun again and was only interrupted by hail. We waited all day for the return of the men. They came in the evening but Lao Tchang was not with them.

It was a long and difficult business to extract from them their story. They kept interjecting lugubrious expressions peculiar to the Chinese. I concluded at last that Lao Tchang had committed suicide by throwing himself down a sheer precipice of some fifty feet at the top of the glacier. The mule had been found nearly dead from cold and hunger, and shivering under the rain and hail, and some traces left by the unfortunate man's fur

boots had led the investigators to the brink of the precipice.

This tragic death shocked us greatly. Not only was it sad to lose a member of the caravan while still so far from our journey's end, but the moral effect on the survivors was incalculable. The men, already sufficiently out of hand, would become more so, and I dreaded an epidemic of suicide. The situation was certainly a wretched one for them. They had lost all hope of ever seeing their country again, and when I promised them a return voyage in a steamer from India to China, they shook their heads doubtfully and said to one another that they would never see India. I spent over an hour that night in their tent trying to encourage them, but I felt when I left them that I had wasted my time.

The next day, after going down a valley running from south-east to north-west, in the evening we reached the banks of the Yang-tze. But it was a very different river. Instead of the imposing channel of water we had not been able to keep close to, we found here a river split up sometimes into two, sometimes into three streams, in the middle of a vast plain stretching from east to west, and easy to cross. The Dangla Mountains obviously send down large tributaries into that portion of the river's course which we had not been able to follow up. Exactly east of this site of our tent a great break in the circle of mountains showed where the Yang-tze clove its way through. There was pasturage here and there on its banks and our beasts derived some nourishment. In spite of the steady rain we felt sufficiently cheerful to light a fire and by burning two of our cases we procured a fine blaze, before which we strove to dry our soaked rags. I say rags, for our Chinese sheep skin clothes had lost both shape and colour.

Some yaks were feeding about a mile away, and though very tired I went out after them for we had literally nothing to eat. Unfortunately there was no chance of stalking them on the huge open plain, and they cantered off before I could get within range, thus depriving us of our hopes of a much needed dinner. During the next two days we covered about thirty miles to the south-west. The view was bounded on all sides by glaciers, and after the firm ground of the plain in which we had rejoined the great river we came upon fresh stretches of mud. But these we were able to escape by marching in the river bed itself some two or three yards from the bank. The water was shallow, and in spite of the rain the small tributaries that flowed constantly into it contributed very little volume to the stream.

Towards evening on the second day we reached a strangely formed and unique country. Hills of red mud rose on all sides, some very large and lofty, others no bigger than dunes in Europe. I made an attempt to scale one of them, and sank in up to the knees. We went on therefore in the river bed, and as evening closed in and dark clouds were gathering ominously overhead I hastily ordered our tents to be pitched on a small platform of rock which lay very handy some hundred yards from the river. The storm did not burst immediately. The night fell thick and heavy. Not a breath of wind relieved the electric tension, and at midnight a loud clap of thunder resounded very near us. It was the herald of the most violent storm I have ever seen. I hope I may never see another like it. The claps of thunder followed on one another like the reports of artillery in action. The lightning was so bright and vivid that it might have been daylight. The sky and earth seemed about to

unite at this height of 19,000 feet, and as if in protest against our audacity in profaning these virgin altitudes the brass spikes on our tents threw off tongues of fire several inches in length, with a terrifying crackling. The soaked canvas acted as a conductor between the spikes and the ground and made the position inside the tent untenable. So we had to move out under the rain and snow which fell for the greater part of this alarming night. The animals, half buried in snow, made no movement. Huddled together some paces from the tents they watched the falling flakes cover the few tufts of grass on which they might have fed.

As for ourselves we had only half a pound of flour which we soaked in water and made into a kind of cake. We had not even any salt, the cook having stolen the last of it while we slept. On the next morning, September 1st, we left the glacier from which the Yang-tze rises on our right, two hours after breaking up the camp, and crossed a water parting on the crest of a side *arête* of the Dangla mountains. The Yang-tze's source is about in the middle of this *arête*, and the saddle shaped pass that we surmounted stretched from the glaciers that feed the great river to another group rather less important.

We had therefore accomplished one of my main objects in visiting Thibet. We now had to reach India, and the opposition of the Thibetans would perhaps intensify the natural difficulties of the task. Above all we had at any cost to get food. Our last handful of flour had been used up.

LESDAIN.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. III.—FURTHER EXPANSION OF THE THEORY OF THE PRECESSION CLIMATIC AND DECLINATION CYCLES, SHOWING HOW THE EQUATOR BECOMES TEMPERATE AND THE POLES TROPICAL.

I HAVE on two previous occasions contributed papers on the above subject to the CALCUTTA REVIEW, my last appearing in January 1904. These papers are treated from the astronomical standpoint, and their purpose is to show that astronomical causes alone are sufficient to explain the increased cold manifest in the enlarged ice-cap which now practically fills up the whole Arctic sea, in addition to the ice-cap also covering the continent of Greenland. The change in the seasons commenced in A.D. 1248, when, counting from equinox to equinox there were eight more summer days and eight fewer winter days, being a difference of sixteen days in favour of increased warmth and minimum ice-cap in the Northern hemisphere. Any one who takes the trouble to count from equinox to equinox in any good almanac will ascertain that the number of excess summer days is now reduced to seven and a half, being a total difference in favour of the Northern climate of fifteen excess summer days. This is only one sixteenth or six per cent less difference in days. If the temperature of India were based upon this percentage, our average shade temperature of 80° F., would show a reduction of 5° F. But as the absolute temperature of stellar space is minus 461° F., this added to 80° F amounts to 541° F., one sixteenth of which is 33° F. reduction in temperature. This of course is not the correct method of calculating the reduction, no one knows the correct method, all we can do

is to proceed on comparative lines of reasoning. For instance in Queen Elizabeth's time the Arctic sea was fairly open to her sailing merchant-brigs, the captains of which made many attempts to find a North-West passage to India, and almost succeeded. Now steamers, proceeding with caution, have found the greatest difficulty in avoiding the pack ice of the Paleocrystic sea. Only one steamer has succeeded in passing through Behring Strait, all others have failed. One captain has discovered the route from Archangel in Russia to up the river Yenesei in Siberia, and makes one trip there and back yearly. But this captain has found it impossible to steam 4° further North to latitude 77° N so that by rounding the North-East cape he might reach and trade at the mouths of the river Lena. If then so slight a reduction as half an excess summer day in eight has so greatly increased the mass of ice at the North Pole in the short period of 350 years, counting from Queen Elizabeth's time, what will be the effect when, in a further 5,000 years, the number of summer and winter days in the two hemispheres becomes equal? and what the effect when in a further 6,000 years the excess of winter days in the Northern hemisphere becomes eight more than the number of summer days?

As however astronomers discredited this theory as insufficient of itself to explain the fact adduced by geologists that in former times the climate of the North Pole was tropical, the late Dr. Croll published his theory that, owing to conjunctions of the planets, the orbit of our earth was, 250,000 and again 850,000 years ago, so elongated, that the difference between the summer and winter days was increased in those two cycles to thirty excess summer days in the Northern and thirty excess winter days in the Southern hemisphere, while as each

precessional cycle went round, in 12,000 years the conditions were reversed, becoming thirty excess winter days in the Northern hemisphere and thirty excess summer days in the Southern, and that these excess conditions operated for several cycles before and after the principal cycle. Dr. Croll also showed that the same glacial conditions as were produced at the poles by the eight excess summer days, were proportionately intensified when the winter days were increased to thirty, and that the heat in the Northern hemisphere was made excessive by each corresponding half cycle of thirty excess summer days.

Still astronomers were not convinced that Croll's theory, great advance as it was, was a sufficient explanation of the tropical seasons at the poles insisted upon by geologists.

At a later date General Drayson, at one time on the Trigonometrical Surveys of India and England, and later Professor of Surveying at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, who apparently had no knowledge of Croll's theory, took up the question from a new point of view, *viz.*, that of the varying declination of the sun. La Place, a celebrated astronomer of the first French empire, published the results of his calculations, that this declination had been in former times at least 3° greater than at present. Sir John Herschel accepted the results of La Place but does not appear to have checked them. Astronomers seem to have had no conception that the varying declination of the sun had anything to do with the varying climates of the earth exemplified in geologic researches, and they therefore one and all have neglected the subject as a matter with which they had no concern. The position of the sun's declination in respect of the Invariable Plane

of the Solar System is shewn in Fig. 1. (See p. 436.) The poles of the earth are known to have a conical motion, the base of which is believed to make a complete circular revolution among the starry heavens once in each 24,000 years, and that this revolution is a component part of the precession of the equinoxes, which is a retrograde movement of the points where the plane of the equator cuts the plane of the ecliptic or orbit of the earth at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The equinoxes occur from year to year at about the same date, save and except the slight difference in time represented by the slow shortening of the excess summer days in the Northern hemisphere ; but the retrograde movement or precession of the equinoxes where the plane of the equator cuts the ecliptic is a regular movement of about 50 seconds of one degree every year. It is difficult to state in words how this movement of our North Pole takes place. It is round the pole of the Invariable Plane. This plane is the average plane of the orbits of all the planets, and was calculated by La Place to make an angle of one and a half degrees with the orbit of our earth. The sun's declination is calculated from the ecliptic, *i.e.*, the orbit of our earth.

To find the pole of the Ecliptic :—draw a line in the heavens from the pointers of the Great Bear to the North Pole Star. Draw a line from the Pole Star about 100° degrees from the former line, in the direction of and in a line parallel to the tail of the Great Bear ; measure on this second line from the Pole Star an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees. This further point gives the position of the pole of our ecliptic or orbit. To find the pole of the Invariable Plane :—measure from the pole of the ecliptic on the base of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees an angle of 74° degrees, pointing in the direction of the tail of the Great

Bear. Mark off $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees on this last line of the angle. This further point gives the position of the pole of the Invariable Plane. For convenience of calculation, the angle 24° degrees is taken, as it was in about 1,000 A.D., instead of the present declination of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees. A circle with the pole of the Invariable Plane as a centre, (the pole of the ecliptic is sufficiently accurate), and the Pole Star as a radius of 24° degrees, gives a circle of 48° degrees diameter, which is the base of the conical path upon which our North pole is now travelling in the heavens. The direction of the movement is away from the tail of the Great Bear and through the Pole Star. If a watch face is held up with its back towards the North pole or that of the ecliptic pole, the movement of our pole along the circle is in the direction opposite to the movement of the hands of the watch.

La Place appears to have based his difference of declination upon double the difference between the orbit of the earth and that of the invariable plane, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2 = 3$ degrees difference. He took no account of the known diminution of the declination between the single observation of Hipparchus about 2,000 years ago and which now amounts to 34' minutes of one degree. When General Drayson took this observation into his spherical trigonometry calculations, and combined it with those recorded for the past 150 years in the Nautical Almanack, he found that 13,000 years ago the difference in declination was 12° degrees, that 13,000 years ago the tropical zone reached up to the latitude of Gibraltar, or 36° degrees North latitude, and the arctic zone extended down to the latitude of Manchester, *i. e.*, the temperate zone was then almost non existent, being only of the width of 18° degrees. Had the declination of that time increased to 45° degrees, the tropical and arctic

zones would have coincided. General Drayson was enthusiastic about his discovery, upon which he wrote several books, showing how greatly different the climate of the earth was when the sun's declination was increased to 36° degrees. There was one fatal defect in his theory. Astronomers would not look at it, because it failed to explain a former tropical climate at the North Pole. It showed rightly enough the existence of former tropical conditions in what is now the South temperate zone, and a much warmer summer climate than now in the North temperate zone and in the outer half of the Arctic zone, but nothing approaching to tropical conditions near the North Pole.

Astronomical theories are all like mechanical inventions, subject to the evolution of ideas. Croll got to a certain point in his two books "Climate and Time" and "Climate and Cosmology", Sir Robert Ball, the late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, improved on Croll's theory by showing in his "Cause of an Ice Age" how a low winter declination made the cold much more intense, and a high summer declination the heat much greater than the respective measurements of the sun would presuppose.

But he got no further. Drayson, in his "Untrodden Ground in Astronomy and Geology" and "The Earth's Past History" made a grand step in advance, by ascertaining through rigid calculations in Spherical Trigonometry that the sun's declination was, on the further side of the cycle 13,000 years ago, 12° degrees more than now. In my previous paper I showed that when allowance was made for the revolution of the earth's orbit (not the earth but the earth's orbit) round the sun, the cycle became reduced to the Hindu Pauranik measure of 12,000 years. Drayson made one mistake in his conclusion. He had no knowledge of the invariable

plane, and therefore made his radii revolve round the pole of the ecliptic. He ought to have made them revolve round the pole of the invariable plane, the approximate position of which I have just described. Had he done this he would have discovered that the conical movement of the path of the earth's poles in the heavens was not an ellipse but a never ending spiral (see Fig 1); that our poles by virtue of this spiral motion first coincide with the pole of the invariable plane, and as the movement goes on, the present poles make a quarter revolution of 90° degrees, or seven and a half spirals of 12° degrees each, coinciding with the invariable plane, and with a further revolution of 90° degrees or $7\frac{1}{2}$ spirals of 12° degrees each the North Pole takes the place of the present South Pole, a reversal which occurs gently, quietly, without sudden shock or cataclysm, but in an immensely slow geologic cycle, a Pauranik Mahayuga in fact. The honour of this discovery I give to my friend Mr. G. E. Sutcliffe, of "Sopari Bag Road, Parel, Bombay." Mr Sutcliffe is a mathematical astronomer, a member of the Leeds Astronomical Society, and versed in the logarithmic calculations of the spherical trigonometry of the heavens. I lent him my two above books of General Drayson. He found Drayson's calculations to be correct. He fortunately had with him Mrs. Mary Somerville's translation of La Place's "Mechanism of the Heavens" (*Mecanique Celeste*), published in 1830. He recalculated the elements of the invariable plane from La Place's formulae and found that the difference in inclination between our ecliptic and that of the invariable plane is very nearly $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ degrees, thus agreeing with La Place. He then found that by calculating the conical radii at the base of the earth's pole as revolving round the pole of the invariable

plane and not round the pole of the ecliptic, a never-ending uniform spiral motion was evolved, the elements of which I will give later on in this paper. Why did Drayson make this vital mistake? Because Astronomers have for many years past ignored the existence of the invariable plane, and therefore he was helpless. In my copy of Chambers' Encyclopedia, (Art. Mary Somerville) it is stated that "she was a celebrated mathematical astronomer, who in 1823 was commissioned by Lord Brougham to translate La Place's above work. She published it in 1830, when it was received with the greatest admiration, and in 1835 she was awarded the royal pension of £ 300, which she continued to receive till her death in 1872." I have a shelf-full of astronomical works, not one of which has a word to say about the invariable plane. My copy of Sir John Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy," published in 1851, has four pages on the Precession of the Equinoxes. He there states that "the pole of the earth revolves round the pole of the ecliptic," which is incorrect; he makes no reference to the invariable plane nor to its pole. It appears as though he had not read Mary Somerville's translation of the *Mecanique Celeste*. All the Astronomers obediently follow their great master, e. g. my four publications of Sir R. S. Ball, one of Astronomer Royal Airy, three of Lockyer, and many others. La Place published his *Mecanique Celeste* 1799-1825, six volumes with supplements.

Mr. Sutcliffe shows in his recent pamphlet, "The Gigantic Hoax of La Place" that the spiral makes one revolution every 24,000 years at the rate of 12° degrees of diminishing declination per spiral.

I perhaps should give the explanation of La Place's "Gigantic Hoax" as described by Mr. Sutcliffe. Every

one is liable to make mistakes and La Place was no exception to the rule, though as a mathematician he was head and shoulders above his contemporaries. The labour of calculating the complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry is great, in time spent and mental weariness. The discoverer of a formula has no outside experience to check him in his work, he has to depend entirely on himself. Hence in the formula which La Place gives for calculating the sun's declination, the angle of which is equal to the earth's obliquity, or the angle which the earth's equator makes with the earth's orbit or ecliptic at any position of the cycle of precession of the equinoxes, he used the wrong sign for this precession. As this has a retrograde movement in the heavens the reverse of the orbital motion of the planets, La Place in his formula should have given the precession movement a minus sign, while he has used a plus sign, and therefore his results are unreliable. The conclusion to which he comes is that, in the whole cycle of precession, there is no difference in the sun's declination other than the 3 degrees due to the invariable plane. The Astronomical and Geologic world went to sleep for a century on this dictum, until Drayson woke them in 1890, and showed by new formulae, the result of his experience as a trigonometrical surveyor in India and England, that the difference in declination was 12 degrees.

Mr. Sutcliffe appears to think that La Place made the mistake for the purpose of hoaxing his contemporaries, and so encouraging them to find it out. I think it more likely that he made a simple error, and failed to discover it.

Our poles revolve round the pole of the invariable plane, but our sun's declination is measured from the pole

of our ecliptic, there being thus a difference of one and a half degrees minus and one and a half degrees minus, or a total difference of 3 degrees. This has to be added to and subtracted from the declinations of the spirals in Figs 1 & 2 to get accurate results.

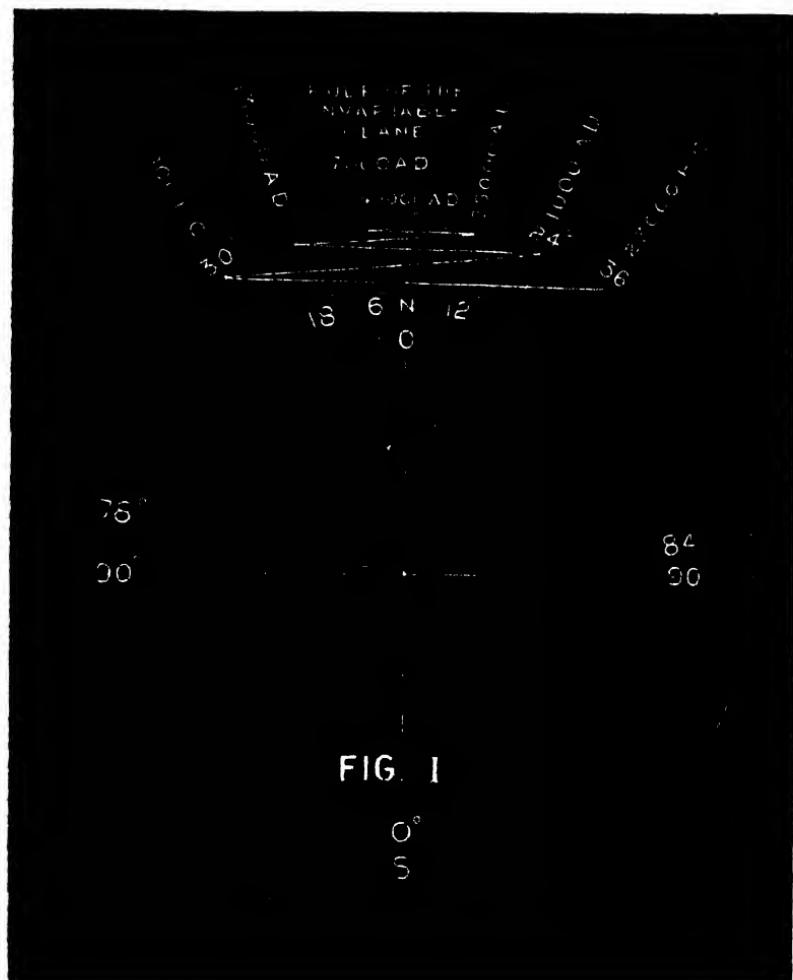


FIG. I

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Thus see Fig. 1. Take the spiral 36, 30, 24 degrees. The complete spiral as measured from the

pole of the invariable plane is 36, 33, 30, 27, 24 degrees. But when the adjustments due to the ecliptic are taken into account the real spiral of declination becomes 36, 34½, 30, 25½, 24 degrees. Even such slight differences of declination help to add infinite variety to the resulting climates. Mr. Sutcliffe gives the method of ascertaining the positions of the greatest and least difference of declination, but it is highly technical, and need not be produced in this paper.

The deductions I draw in respect of geologic climatology are Mr. Sutcliffe's, the details only being my own. He makes three short references to the occurrence of the glacial and tropical periods, which are at once explained, and the problem which has puzzled the brains of Astronomers and Geologists for a century or more has found a solution. The two explanatory Diagrams also are my own, their idea of course being Mr. Sutcliffe's. I publish this paper with the approval of Mr. Sutcliffe.

Mr. Sutcliffe makes no reference to the remarkable variations of climate which will take place when the poles of the earth coincide with the plane of the ecliptic, and which I describe later on. Nor does he refer to the great increase of summer and diminution of winter days and *vice versa* which will take place as the eccentricity of the earth's orbit increases, and which will largely increase the effect of the sun's heat at the tropical poles, and the chill caused by his absence during the reverse conditions of fewer summer days and more winter days in the North; climates further modified to an infinite degree by the varying position of the apses in the earth's orbit as the precession of the equinoxes rhythmically circles round. See Fig. 1. In a quarter spiral from 1,000 A. D. *i. e.* in 7,000 A. D. there will be an equal number of summer and winter days in the Northern

hemisphere. If the reduction of half a summer day has caused so great an increase of winter temperature, the reduction of a further half day, of one, two and more summer days will make winter conditions in the Northern hemisphere excessive. The Arctic Sea is shallow. When its inlet in Behring Strait is frozen to near the bottom, the flow of the current will cease, which will cause the whole sea to freeze hard. The ice-cap will extend from Greenland over the Arctic Sea, the increased mass of ice will form an immense glacier, which will attract the sea to a higher level, causing it to rise and flow over European Russia, Turkestan, and the low tundras of Siberia. As a result of this rise in sea level, it is probable that these countries will be joined up by a chain of inland navigable salt lakes via the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian and Aral Seas, up to the Arctic Ocean in Siberia, and that the great lakes in Northern Russia will connect the Baltic with the White Sea in the Arctic Ocean, and with North West Siberia, which will become covered with a great navigable extension of the Arctic Ocean southward. St. Petersburg of course will disappear. It is likely that the slight rise of sea level will be sufficient to overflow the present Delta of Egypt, causing a new Delta to silt up in its place at a higher level, and overflow the Isthmus of Suez and the Bitter Lakes.

In North America the islands North of Hudson's Bay will be overwhelmed down to latitude 65° degrees. The remaining high lands North and West of the great Lakes forming the new wheat fields of Canada, and the high lands of Labrador up to the greatly enlarged Hudson's Bay will become again covered with glaciers.

In the summer the sun's heat will be concentrated on the new Baltic-Russian-Siberian-Turkestan Sea, and on the corresponding new sea North of Hudson's Bay, the

adjoining lands, as now, will in summer experience tropical heat, and the damp air of the enlarged seas will rise as clouds and deposit as snow-glaciers on the Arctic ice-cap, and on the surrounding high lands. Concurrently with the enlarged polar ice-cap, permanent glaciers fed from the adjoining inland seas will form on the high lands of Europe, Asia and America. At present these glaciers melt every summer. I have travelled over the Splugen pass North of lake Como. In August the glacier on this pass was melted down to isolated patches of ice only a few inches thick. Under the new conditions the clouds from the warm seas will deposit on the high lands as snow, and these glaciers will be of sufficient magnitude by gravitation to cause a rise of the sea level in their vicinity. The tendency will be for these glaciers to become too massive to melt in the summer, they will just flow down to the sea as do the glaciers down the valleys from Greenland at the present time. Glaciers also are known to radiate great heat each summer day. The proximity of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans may not to any material extent increase the size of the ice-cap, because if cold, no damp air will rise from them, and if the Gulf streams are still acting, these streams will melt out great gaps in the ice-cap.

On the other hand it may be that the Atlantic Gulf stream, no longer able to flow on to the North coast of Norway, may become so deflected from England as to cause the English climate seriously to suffer. It is certain that continuous North East winds already induce a temporary stoppage of the Gulf Stream, South West winds strengthen it, and strong Westerly winds produce the blizzards which so greatly affect the English climate in the late spring months, by causing the Labrador and Newfoundland icebergs to blow across the Atlantic, and

chill the air with unseasonable snow storms. Corn no longer grows in Labrador, and these variations will seriously change the climate of Canada. These are the climatic conditions which may reasonably be expected in the Northern hemisphere 5,000 years hence, and to a modified extent in a proportionately less period. A recent United States Geologic text book "Man and the Glacial Period" by G.F. Wright, Assistant of the United States Geological Survey published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. London 1892, states p. 339 that "seven thousand years is the earliest date that can be assigned for the disappearance of the permanent glacier at the Niagara Falls." He says p. 340 that "precisely the same geologic conditions are to be found in the falls of the Mississipi river at Minneapolis near its junction with the Minnesota River one hundred miles South of Lake Superior, and that the same maximum limit of time, seven thousand years must be given for the disappearance of that glacier." In both quotations I have for the sake of brevity paraphrased his wording.

These then were the conditions in full force at the quarter period of the last current spiral from 5,000 to 17,000 years ago, and which were attributable to Croll's theory of equal summer and winter days in the Northern hemisphere. His theory depended largely upon the lessened number of summer days and increased number of winter days causing a diversion of the North Atlantic Gulf stream to the South Atlantic. I am sure that this process is going on at the present time I know my English and Indian climates well. When I was a young man there were no blizzards in England, nor did snow storms on the Himalayan passes continue into the month of May, and sometimes into June. To

put it briefly I would say that the winters in England and India are longer and the summers shorter, the latter in England not so hot owing to stormy weather. In India the summers are hot enough when they come, owing to the rains arriving later than formerly. If then glacial action will be so increased at the quarters of the spiral, what will be the effect 11,000 years hence when present conditions will be reversed, and there will be eight fewer summer days and eight more winter days in the Northern hemisphere? And the cold in temperate regions will be greatly increased from the concentration of the sun's heat in the tropics due to the reduced declination of 24° degrees to 18° degrees, as I show in my next paragraphs.

As I stated in a previous paper, Noah's flood took place within the limit of 7,000 years ago, the limit now assigned by the United States Geologists for the break up of the last existing ice-cap. It is in that same ice-cap that we should I think place Mr. Tilak's "Arctic Home in the Vedas." The ancient Aryans of course did not live on the ice-cap, but they lived within the polar zone when the declination and the radius of the zone was 3 degrees more than at present, in warm secluded valleys, which experienced the sun's continuous presence in summer, and in winter felt his continuous absence and the rigours of intense cold.

Still referring to Fig. 1, when the declination has become diminished to 0° degrees, when the North Pole coincides with that of the invariable plane, the sun will remain always on the then earth's equator. The sun's heat being there concentrated, there will be no movement of the sun from South to North and *vice versa* and the heat on and near the equator will become intolerable, making it impossible to live there, and the

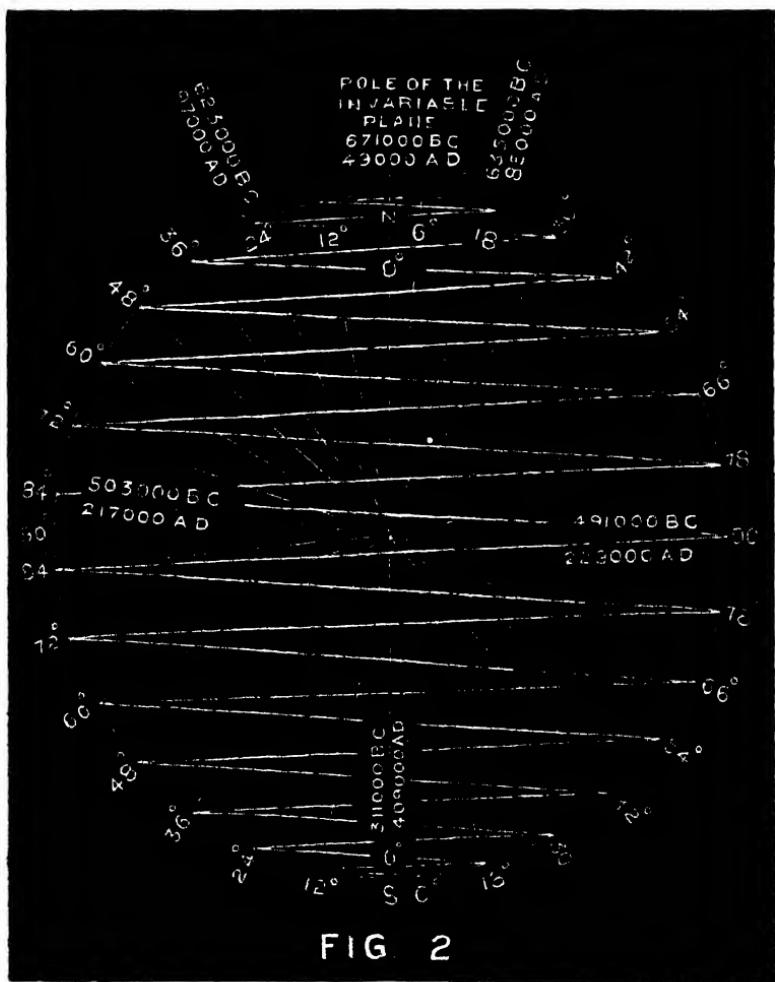
nations will migrate to the North and South. The whole world, distant, say 10 degrees from the equator will become temperate in character, summer and winter will be non-existent, every place on the earth in respect of summer and winter will always experience the same quantity of heat and cold.

The three zones, tropical, temperate and Arctic will cease to exist, the sun continuing always on the equator will always shine up to the poles, which will be in perpetual dawn. The sun however down to the latitude of 60° degrees will never be more than 30° degrees above the horizon, and will give insufficient heat during the day to melt the polar ice-cap, which will continue increasing in size while these conditions last. The ice-caps may extend perhaps down to the latitude of 60° degrees in Europe and 50° in North America. For here Sir R. S. Ball's theory of a low declination will come into play. At the same time the difference in the number of excess summer and winter days in each hemisphere will practically cease, with the exception of the small spiral of 3° degrees made up of the difference of 1½° degrees between the pole of the ecliptic and the pole of the invariable plane.

Glaciers of great size will accumulate upon all mountain ranges within reasonable distance of the polar ice-cap, and in proximity to the warm sea:—for damp clouds will condense their snow upon chilly heights. Increased heat at the equator means increased cold at the poles.

One would like to think that the saltiness of the Dead Sea is due to the valley of the Jordan once having had direct communication with the Red Sea. But the water parting between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, 100 miles in length, is at its highest point 525 feet above the level of the Red Sea. It is improbable

that in the latitude of 30 degrees, near the tropics, the glaciers on the mountains of Mesopotamia could have raised the sea level to so great a height. We must be content with the fact that all inland lakes at a distance from glacial mountains are salt. Plants will find a way



of accommodating their life to the new conditions, because the sun will be permanently on the equator only for an

instant of time, and there will always be a modified very slight summer and winter, approaching to *nil* when the equator coincides with the ecliptic.

After the North Pole of the Earth has coincided with the North Pole of the invariable plane the spirals will commence to increase as shown in Fig. 2, until the present North Pole becomes reversed and coincides with the present South Pole of the invariable plane. Each quarter circle contains $7\frac{1}{2}$ spirals equal to 180,000 years, when the poles will coincide with the invariable plane; a complete reversal of fifteen spirals takes 360,000 years, when the North Pole will occupy the position of the present South Pole, and *vice versa*; and the full cycle or Mahayuga of thirty spirals, when the North Pole of the earth will get back to the present North Pole of the invariable plane, occupies 720,000 years.

Let us now consider what the effect will be on the climates of the Northern hemisphere when the sun's declination (*a*) has become 45. (*b*) 66 and (*c*) 90 degrees. In the first case the tropical zone will extend to Bordeaux in France, including the whole of Portugal and Spain, to Turin and Venice in Italy, Trieste in Austria, Belgrade in Servia, Sevastopol in the Crimea, nearly the whole of the Black Sea, of the Caspian and Aral seas in Turkestan, the Gobi Desert, Mongolia and Manchuria in China, including all the countries to the South of this line now in the temperate zone, *viz.*, Turkey in Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, China and Japan. In America the tropics will include Oregon, Wyoming, Dakota, the four lower Great Lakes excluding Superior, also Montreal and Nova Scotia. The temperate zone will be wiped out, and the Arctic zone will extend to the just described tropical zone. The tropics will no longer be tropical as we now understand

it. The present North tropic is nearly 24 degrees wide, the measure of the sun's declination. The sun now travels this distance every quarter of the year in ninety days, equal to a journey of 1° degree every four days. Then, the sun will travel one degree every two days, *viz.*, at double the speed he now travels, and his vertical rays, spread over double the distance, will give on each point of the new tropics considerably less heat than the sun now gives on the present tropics. Thus the tropics will become temperate in character, and the lessened heat now received by the tropics will be given to the poles. At present the sun on the equator at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes sends his rays 90 degrees to the poles, where the sun's altitude is *nil*, *i.e.*, the sun is on the horizon the whole 24 hours. On the Arctic circle at the equinoxes, the sun's altitude is 24 degrees at midday, and on the horizon at 6.00 A.M. and P.M. At the summer solstice, the sun is 24 degrees North, and sends his rays 24 degrees beyond the North Pole to the further limit of the Arctic zone, where the sun is on the horizon at midnight, and the midday altitude is 48 degrees. Thus during the six summer months, the altitude varies at the poles from the horizon to the maximum of 24 degrees continuously night and day. At the Arctic circle the midday altitude varies from 24 to 48 degrees during the same period and the horizon sun varies from 12⁰⁰ P.M. at the summer solstice, to 6.00 A.M. and P.M. at the equinoxes.

When the sun's declination has increased to 45 degrees, the altitude at the poles will vary during the six summer months from the horizon at the equinoxes to the maximum of 45 degrees at the summer solstice. At the Arctic circle the midday altitude will vary from 45 to 90 degrees during the same period : while the horizon sun

always varies from 12.00 P.M. at the summer solstice to 6.00 A.M. and P.M. at the equinoxes.

Under the new conditions when the declination is 45 degrees the sun will at the summer solstice be vertical over the Arctic circle at midday, and on the horizon at 12.00 P.M. The heat concentrated on the Arctic circle at that period will thus be much greater than present tropical heat. For six months this heat will continue, till at the equinoxes the sun's altitude at midday will be 45 degrees. Similarly at the poles the altitude will be 45 degrees at the summer solstice and on the horizon at the equinoxes, the sun thus always above the horizon for six months. The heat concentrated by this means will much exceed that now received at 69 degrees North latitude,—that of Tromsoe in North Norway,—where the sun's altitude at the midday summer solstice is 45 and at the equinoxes 21 degrees. The effect of this tropical heat in the Arctic zone will be that the polar ice-caps will gradually be melted in the six summer months, and will not have time to collect again during the winter, for winter conditions will in fact have ceased to exist. When the sun has reached its extreme Southern limit in lat. 45, it will, owing to the effect of refraction, be well above the horizon on the Arctic circle at midday, so that there will be several hours of daylight and twilight at mid-winter. Owing to the great extension of tropical heat in and outside the Arctic zone up to the equator, there will be a belt of warm air, warm land and sea round this zone which will keep it warm and genial until the sun's return to the North. The Northern and Southern ice-caps being melted, there will be an appreciable rise of the sea level all over the world, which will help in improving genial conditions, for the winter sea is always warmer than that of adjoining land.

During the equinoxes there is always light at the poles, and twilight for about one sixth of the Arctic zone on either side of the Pole, while on the Arctic circle at the summer solstice there is continuous day from noon to 12.00 P.M. Twilight ceases and night begins on this circle for an instant at 12.00 P.M. about one month on either side of the solstice. Night prevails on this circle at the equinoxes from 8.00 P.M. to 4.00 A.M., the remaining four hours being taken up by the morning and evening twilights. At the summer solstice there is full light on this circle, giving an average of four hours of night, or an average of less than two hours night on the whole Arctic zone, as against more than twenty two hours of day.

When the sun's declination has reached 66 degrees there will be an overlapping of the tropical and Arctic zones. The North tropical zone will reach to 66 degrees North latitude, up to the line of the present Arctic circle. The Arctic circle will reach down to 24 degrees North latitude, the line of the present North tropical zone. The sun will travel 66 degrees in ninety days, being about three degrees every four days in the place of the present one degree, making the climate near the equator still more temperate than when the declination had reached 45 degrees, and the Arctic zone still more tropical than then. The tropical sun will extend to 42 degrees within the Arctic zone, up to within 24 degrees of the poles, and it will remain within this zone in its Northern and return journey for 134 days out of the six summer months.

When the sun's declination has reached 90 degrees the poles will be in line with the ecliptic, and the present equator in line with the present poles, the sun will travel 90 degrees from the equator to the poles, in about ninety

days, being four times the speed at which it now travels. As, when the declination was 45 degrees the temperate zone was wiped out, so now the tropical zone also becomes non-existent, and nothing remains but the Arctic zone, which extends from the poles to the equator. Of course the word "Arctic" implying excessively cold conditions is here a misnomer, because this zone will now have become tropical, most so at the poles, least so at the equator. But it is needful to retain the same name, for the sake of accurate nomenclature of the Astronomical and Geological conditions.

The previous paragraphs relating to the tropical conditions of the Arctic zone during the summer, the continuous warmth, light, twilight and small proportion of actual darkness during the winter months described in declination 45, applying equally to declinations 66 and 90 degrees. Thus when at the commencement of the Mahayuga the poles will coincide with the poles of the invariable plane, the heat at the equator and the cold at the poles will be at their greatest; this will be the Kali-mahāyuga of intense heat and cold the ice-caps and the glaciers on mountain ranges will be of their largest extent; in 180,000 years the poles will coincide with the ecliptic, ice will disappear from the earth except on high mountains near and on the equator, a temperate climate will prevail at the equator, and tropical at the poles. The equator will then be situate where the poles now are, and be perpendicular to the ecliptic, while the poles will be on the ecliptic. This will be the Satya-mahāyuga.

Each spiral of Figs. 1 and 2 consists of a circle, or nearly so, and represents the movement of the poles of the earth as seen travelling among the stars of the celestial hemisphere in a circle round the poles of the

invariable plane. Each point of this circle moves ever in one direction, as measured on its great circle of the celestial hemisphere. Each point travels 3 minutes of one degree per century, one degree every 2,000 years, and 12 degrees in each complete spiral every 24,000 years. The resultant movement is a closing of the North spiral, see Fig. 1, up to the North Pole of the invariable plane. From this point, see Fig. 2, the spiral opens out till the North Pole in 180,000 years reaches the ecliptic, and then recommences to close up till this pole in 360,000 years reaches the South Pole of the invariable plane. Our present North Pole having reached the present South Pole the spiral reopens out at its same steady rhythmic movement of one degree each two thousand years, thus moving from the North to the South Pole in 360,000 years, and back again to the North Pole in another 360,000 years. There is thus an in-breathing and out-breathing movement of the poles, corresponding to that of the spiral movement of the atom, and thus the vibrations of the macrocosm and microcosm are in essence one. This spiral movement is divinely ordained in order that the succession of climates may be infinite in their variety and character.

Mr. Sutcliffe's theory is that the circumference of the spiral moves on the great circle one degree every 2,000 years, or 12 degrees in each complete spiral every 24,000 years. This agrees with facts as they now are. But assume that the period in years of the spiral is proportional to the distance travelled by the spiral, *i.e.*, to its circumference or diameter. In such case, see Figs. 1 and 2, the diameter of the spiral at 90 degrees is rather more than double that at 24 degrees, which is approximately the present position. Thus at 90 degrees the period of the spiral will be 60,000 years, at 36 to 24 degrees its period

is 30,000 years, at 24 to 12 degrees it is 18,000 years and from 12 to nil degrees it is 6,000 years. The significance of this variation of the theory is that when the North Pole of our earth coincides with the North Pole of the invariable plane, our equator is intensely hot, the poles are intensely cold, this period of the Kali-mahāyuga of distressful conditions of existence will be passed over with comparative rapidity, while, when the poles coincide with the ecliptic, represented in the two Figures as 90 degrees, the Satyā-mahāyuga of the Golden Age will be prolonged to 60,000 years of each spiral.

In my previous paper I gave Sir Robert Ball's figures showing how the action of the revolution of the earth's orbit (not the earth but its orbit) reduces the period of the cycle from 26,000 to 21,000 years. This action is still more effective or speedy with spirals of small diameter than with large spirals, and thus reduces still more quickly the length of the period of the Kali-mahāyuga, and shows the beneficence of Providence in adapting the earth's climate to the best conditions of existence.

Mr. Sutcliffe shows that "the great circle containing the poles of the invariable plane passes exactly through the Stars Sirius and Vega, and that one of the poles of this great circle is just at the beginning of the Asterism Chitra on the Ancient Zodiac, as it is still called in India. When the full moon is in this Asterism, it determines the commencement of the Solar year according to the ancient system and modern Hindu practice. The position of Chitra fixed all the other points of the Ancient Zodiac, and makes the longitude of the First Point of Aries," where it has remained fixed for the past 6,000 years. See "Great Hoax," p. 12.

In modern Astronomical practice, the First Point of Aries is a figure of speech only. "It is the vernal equinox, or that point where the vernal passage of the sun takes place across the equator; *i.e.*, the First Point of Aries is constantly changing its position among the fixed stars corresponding with the Precession of the Equinoxes. It no longer corresponds with the sign Aries as it did about two thousand years ago. The First Point of Aries is now in the constellation Pisces, about 30 degrees West of the Original sign." See Chamber's Encyclopedia "Aries". This is one twelfth part of the complete circle or spiral of 24,000 years.

DAVID GOSTLING, F. R. I. B. A.

Art. IV.—SYMPATHY AND DECENTRALISATION.

"THAT BLESSED WORD MESOPOTAMIA."

OF late thanks to the malignant eloquence of Bengali orators and others anxious to earn fame by acquiring notoriety, the affairs of the Indian body politic and more especially of District Administration have received more than their usual consideration in Europe as well as in the East. The prattling of students has been answered by the counterblast of Government resolutions : the plaint of the discontented Bengali has been echoed by disappointed Civilians in the House of Commons, a masterly exposition of Indian policy by the Secretary of State has been followed by reviews and articles in ever-increasing volume. Out of this medley of opinions, preconceived or otherwise, hostile or appreciative, it appears to be accepted that for Indian administration two essentials are required. The doctors may differ as to their diagnosis of the disease : some call it poverty : others higher education : others employ less pleasing names, but the majority prescribe as a political nostrum two ingredients, one of which is apparently to be taken in large quantites, the other to a modified extent, and the names of these two remedies, which have often been prescribed before but never compounded or swallowed, are "sympathy" and "decentralisation."

That blessed word sympathy. It will be remembered of the late Sir John Woodburn that two disappointed gentlemen were heard to summarise their interview thus : , "Affability *bahout*" said one : " *kintu* true sympathy *kichu na* ;" said the other, whose nephew had been deemed unfit for a particular post. The same, Lieutenant-Governor was on tour on board the *Rhotas*,

and anchored off Rampur Boalia. It was a stormy night and the Ganges was in flood. The local police had commandeered a boat to carry the mails, and the boat was overturned and lost. The mails were saved, but the manjhi stated that on the occasion of this ill-fated trip he had the savings of his lifetime on board, in cash. His Honour paid him the two hundred rupees, and that fisherman's son is now qualifying for a post on the High Court Bench. It is well, therefore, before talking glibly of sympathy or decentralisation to realise what these terms of blessed import really mean.

To the Oriental sympathy connotes a quality which will display itself in overt acts entirely different to those expected by the Western mind. The Eastern cannot or will not grasp the idea that a prosecution can be sympathetic, or that the refusal of an appointment may be accompanied by real sympathy. The results of true sympathy should, he thinks, resemble those which in the West we regard as the offspring of "nepotism" or "favouritism." For him sympathy is not expected to be patient or long-suffering: it should be prompt in the matter of a "job:" it should confine itself to the individual with an Oriental disregard of the community in its application it may well be limited to the family.

Such are the views which under existing circumstances the Western mind may be pardoned for crediting to the Indian. His universe of ideas is created by his office clerks, his servants and durwans. He may therefore fail to realise that the Indian is sentimental, he is utilitarian, and has perchance bad *data* on which to base his deductions. The spirit of genuine Hindu philosophy breathes a very different note. We quote from the *Hitopadesa*: "Betraying secrets, begging favours.....these are serious faults in

a friend." "What is given from a sense of duty (simply because it ought to be given), to one who has done no benefit to the giver, and with due consideration of the circumstances (place and time) and the deserts of the person receiving, this is the only gift which may be called good and pure." And still stronger is the contrast the moral maxim, propounded by Kali Dasa in the 6th century A.D., offers to the views with which the Anglo-Indian credits his Indian visitors of to-day. "Better a fruitless prayer to a noble heart than the fruition of one's desires from the mean-minded." These are quotations from the household ethics of India even as it is to-day : every little boy learns them, every Pundit teaches them, albeit no Government Resolution has yet blessed them with the prominence of official advertisement.

Are they displayed in practice ? We may be pardoned for the doubt. The European detached as he is bound to be from the social customs of the Hindu has a different meaning for the word. He displays the attribute in a general kindness for those with whom he has to deal, and more especially with those whom he may rightly or wrongly consider as "deserving," those whom he regards as down-trodden and handicapped in the struggle for life.

In his view sympathy is subservient to justice : it can recognise that a man must be held responsible and pay for his own actions. Sympathy should be divorced from sentiment. Our Indian friends who love to quote their Mill must be sorely perplexed by the mental attitude of that philosopher, when he asserted it to be a scandal that the presence of a large family should be regarded as the best advertisement of a subject for charity. They very naturally expect, so it seems to us, some *immediate*

practical result to flow from a benevolent spirit, and such result should confer some personal advantage.

And such a view appeals to the official sojourner, who would like to see the results of his own handiwork, but is denied the view. He would welcome the opportunity, whether by himself or as the head of a committee that permitted the present betterment of the individual. Only when engaged on plague or famine duty is he given a glimpse of the active results of active sympathy.

The question we would ask is this. Can the District Officer, who is the unit of administration, be he ever so full of the milk of human kindness, practise the sympathy that those committed to his care demand ? The answer must be that under our present system he can be a power for evil : his opportunities for doing good are sadly curtailed. He can punish the vicious : he will find it hard to reward the virtuous. His "power" (and it is sad that such should be the case) is largely confined to making things uncomfortable. He cannot, like his predecessor of even twenty years ago, make things comfortable. His personal means are limited. He has barely a four-anna piece from the public purse wherewith to oil the wheels of the administration. The District Officer may have the raiyat's interest at heart. He voices but cannot remedy the sufferings of the poor. To give effect to his wishes he must ride roughshod over many other vested interests, and in the end may only condemn his *protégé* to protracted litigation. He can himself only spill ink in his efforts to remedy his suffering. A rack-rented raiyat met with "sympathy" from his Collector : as a result though he kept his land, his cattle were attached and sold ; this done, the land could be of little use to him. The Collector in this instance gave him a pair of bullocks a

his own expense. It is not everyone who can afford such timely generosity even though he has the inclination. This was very properly regarded as true sympathy. Nor did it require the intervention of the High Court.

A girl was bitten by a mad dog. Her parents were poor. To get the girl sent to Kasauli for treatment meant a reference to Government or to the District Board which entailed impossible delay. The answer would be that the girl might go alone. Were it in the Collector's power to send her and a relative, pay their way and their expenses at Kasauli, his or the Sircar's reputation for "sympathy" would have been won.

Most Collectors are anxious to improve the agricultural methods of the people. They would like to prove that jute and potatoes or jute and rice can be grown on the same piece of land in one year. There are in certain districts experimental farms. But it is not in the power of the officials to arrange that the party most interested, the cultivator, can acquire information. Let Ram Baksh be sent twice in the year to spend two days, as a guest of Government costing six or even eight annas per diem, to see with his own eyes the crops that are grown, to talk to the men who have grown them, and improvement might result. Printed pamphlets detailing the virtues of a special plough will not be as suggestive as the gift of the plough itself.

One of the problems of Indian agriculture is the supply of manure. Artificial fertilisers should play an important part in the near future. If the Collector could distribute small quantities to selected peasants the problem might be solved. There would be no harm in trying. The cultivation of the potato in Nepal and in the Darjeeling district is due to the enterprise of a sub-divisional officer of Kurseong, who, some thirty years

ago, distributed twenty maunds of seed potatoes at his own expense.

A ticket for an indigent loafer is, we believe, the extreme concession Government makes to the sympathetic tendencies of its most important employé. Funds may be forthcoming after prolonged correspondence for a charitable object of a general nature: rarely can they be obtained for an individual case, and when they can the old adage of *bis dat qui cito dat* is entirely overlooked. Genuine loyalty is not for sale, real affection may not be purchased, but the absence of any means to give practical effect to sympathy is, we maintain, largely the reason why our officers are held to lack that virtue. They cannot if they would display it; and the frequent compulsory refusal of assistance has discouraged all requests.

Our officer inspects a school—he cannot be expected at his own expense to give the boys a football. He visits a village where an old temple is in disrepair. Had he the funds he might please the religious susceptibilities of the villages as well as allow them to make their little percentage on the cost of the repairs, and this they would esteem "true sympathy," which is not niggardly in calling to account the utmost farthing. He can now write letters touting for appointments for deserving candidates, give non-committing *chits* to others, acts of sympathy, these may be, according to the native idea, but which are often barren of result. He cannot himself dismiss the unworthy and appoint the worthy. He can reward an Excise officer or a chowkidar. He can pay a reward for the slaughter of a wild animal. If an Assistant Surgeon dies of plague he will find it hard to assist the widow. The very honesty of our rigid system of finance debars the practice of sympathy

as interpreted in the East. Machine-made sympathy is of little count.

The Indian is wonderfully responsive to an act of kindness. The education of a Brahmin orphan is handed down in the district as an instance of the sympathy of a predecessor. Those fortunate officers possessed the means. Living was cheap, visits to Europe were rare, families and transfers were not so common.

Let us take an illustration dealing with a larger field. It is the fashion nowadays to condemn the Bengali student as an ingrate who has bitten the hand that fed him. How many regard him and his relatives as most deserving objects of sympathy? Yet such is indeed the case. The so-called famine of last year in Eastern Bengal was the famine of the *badralog*, and it has come to stay. It is a fact that hundreds of ill paid Babus, the creation of our rule, now have one meal a day instead of two—they, their wives, relatives and children know what hunger, physical hunger, means. *Quis comoediar*, says Juvenal, *plorante gula?* The element of comedy is sadly lacking in this present situation. It has long ago been replaced by serious tragedy. It is small wonder that our agitators find inflammable material. It is hard to explain away an empty stomach. Tell your clerk that the demonetisation of silver has made living more costly. This will not cure the dyspepsia resultant on eating Rangoon rice. Mere verbal expressions of sympathy will not appease hunger. The post office clerk who sees twenty years ahead of him before he can pass through "the thirty rupee grade" may be excused for failing to appreciate the manifest advantages of the institution he is privileged to serve. In many places boys are willing and eager to come forward for technical education: they want to learn a

trade. Can the district officer help them to do so? Can he *at once* spend a pice in an endeavour to develop any indigenous industry or to assist a local enterprise? Can he at once arrange to teach an intelligent boy shorthand or let him practise on a typewriter? Eventually he may obtain a grant from Government. His arduous labours with pen and ink to do so do not appeal to those he fain would benefit, as "sympathy." The demi-official touts for subscriptions no matter how deserving the institution, must long ago have been discredited, and the most nicely worded appeal for a Ranchi College scheme or a local hospital are not appreciated or regarded as earnest sympathetic endeavours to do good. The contingent benefit is too remote: the generosity too centralised. If instead the District Officer can promise immediate payment of a third of the cost of a new village school, or of a college hostel we venture to think the remaining two-thirds would soon be forthcoming. Instances of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely, but sufficient has been said to support our next contention that decentralisation must, to be effective, mean decentralisation of finance. Let each District Officer have Rs. 5,000, each Municipality, each District Board the same to spend as may seem best without any reference to other authority, the criterion of such expenditure to be that at the time of framing the annual budget such expenditure was unforeseen and did not entail recurring expenditure. Is it too much to expect the Government to regrant a thousand pounds of the public money received from each district? Or is it an essential feature of our efficient administration that we must prove each claim for charity, and submit for scrutiny and criticism by the clerks in the Secretariat each practical effort after sympathy?

May not the District Officer be something better than the passive exponent of the Government of India's attitude to the economic problems of the day?

The fact that such money can be spent by and for the people would in itself lead to a more intimate association between the District Officer and those whose interests he gets his pay to serve. And even if some of it, as in an instance set forth above, goes astray is that of sufficient importance to condemn the system? Rules would, of course, have to be prescribed defining certain objects on which such money could not be spent, but the audit should be generous not niggardly and the utmost latitude should be allowed. For it needs a man who has spent money wisely to detect unwise expenditure. We notice with pleasure the recognition of the principle advocated above in the recent resolution of the Government of India on "Plague administration." One passage runs: "Whatever form of aid it is decided to give should be given promptly with the minimum of preliminary formalities, and without undue detail of subsequent audit." Could not the principle thus enunciated be made the rule, rather than the exception? Our Imperial Motor Car is a fine vehicle. It has six cylinders, five speeds forward and a powerful reverse. Its horse power is irresistible. The various parts are nicely adapted, and the machine is under perfect control. It is meant to be singularly "efficient." Each part quivers in response to the slightest touch of the chauffeur. But it is not self-lubricating. It has in fact no lubricator at all, a deficiency that cannot be remedied by an automatic clutch. Small wonder if the friction is considerable, the engine noisy and the progress slow. Better a leaky oil tank than no oil at all. If we assume that half the expenditure would be without

result, beyond that possibly of charity, even so we maintain that under the present system half the time and therefore half the pay of the District Officer is wasted in obtaining leave to carry out some project, in proving the necessity of some small action, in defending some petty expenditure. He is bound hand and foot by rule, "giving his reasons in writing"—an odious phase to be found at frequent intervals in our codified law. "Whichever of the two is least" occurs as frequently in our account codes. The one denotes the maximum of work : the other the minimum of means. Both ensue the minimum result. Each year of district life carries with it a long series of missed opportunities. This is one of the few returns not annually submitted to Government.

"Associate the people with you in the administration of your district. A few acts of sympathy will carry a deal of weight." So runs year by year the advice of the Secretariat to the man on the spot. As well tell a pauper to drink champagne or start a wine club at the workhouse as insist on sympathy with the present facilities afforded. As for the association we see but little reason why the people in any condition of life should wish to have much to do with the "protector of the poor." He can only protect them by punishing others. They may wait on him if a relative wishes to join the subordinate service : they may come for a *chit*, but there is little else they can carry away. They will not sit on the verandah in the hope of an ultimate interchange of ideas. It should be in the power of the District Officer to do something more than "recommend"—he should be able to grant. Politeness and commiseration he can dispense : he can give but little practical demonstration of sympathy.

To sum up. We maintain that where sympathy exists it cannot under present circumstances be exercised. It is desirable, we are told, not only "to refrain from evil" but "to do good" and any scheme of decentralisation should provide the means for doing so. It is surely far better that ruler and ruled should be associated in an endeavour to leave the district happier than they found it, than that their main connecting link should be the police. And the means for so doing should be placed ungrudgingly at their disposal. For the practical expression of sympathy cannot be stereotyped nor its manifestation centralised.

Ego.

Art V.—THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT UNREST IN INDIA.

THE unrest that is now prevalent in the Punjab and Bengal has at last compelled the responsible authorities in India to take vigorous measures to guard the public peace and safety which have been gravely menaced. The deportation of Lala Lajput Rai, who was long known to the authorities as the chief person who held the threads of a dangerous conspiracy against the British Government in the Punjab in his hands, and as the most influential promoter of sedition and treason, has struck terror among his subordinates, many of whom have now come forward to disown him and avow themselves the loyal subjects of the British Raj which till the other day they openly reviled and secretly plotted to overthrow. The most active and hostile of his Lieutenants, Ajit Singh, has also been captured, and the conspiracy has been almost entirely dissolved before it had time to lay its roots deep in the soil. How congenial was the soil for the purposes of these enemies of the English, can only be known to those who know the people of the Punjab and their frame of mind for some time past. The Sikhs are the most warlike of the Indian races. They were the last of the Indian peoples to pass under the British sway not quite sixty years ago. They gave the greatest trouble before they were conquered, and fought some of the most hard contested battles with their conquerors. During the Mutiny, though but recently subjected, they remained loyal to the English rulers chiefly owing to the firmness and tact of Lawrence. It is clear that with the Sikhs also against them, the task of subduing that military

revolt and of pacifying the country, would have been much more difficult than it in reality was. The Sikhs have ever after the destruction of the Sepoy Army of Bengal been the flower of the native Army of India. Under British training and leadership they have become the finest soldiers, and have extorted praise from foreign and sometimes unfriendly critics of the English who have observed them.

It is a wise remark of Bacon that sedition flourishes at a time when people are cast down by great physical suffering, like famine and plague. The Panjabis have been in this plight for some time past. Famine, or severe scarcity owing to scanty rains, has been in the province for several years. Plague, a scourge that has devastated nearly every province of India during the last eleven years, has been most severe in its ravages there, till of late it claimed more than fifty thousand victims every week. The sturdy people were already in a sullen mood, when they were taken in hand by designing persons as the fit objects of their intrigues. The present unrest manifested in the Punjab is the direct consequence of the agitation in Bengal about what is called Partition. That agitation carried on by the educated class of Bengalis, was allowed to proceed too far. But still, as will be seen presently, it did no serious harm to the authorities, as the people of Bengal are unwarlike and mild. The agitators were emboldened by the allowance of their tactics in the past by the rulers, and have now sought higher game among the military people of the Punjab.

When the late Sir Charles Aitchison was ruler of the Punjab, he firmly protected his province against attacks by the Congress movement, and quietly refused leave to its promoters to hold one of the sessions of the Congress

in Lahore, saying that the Sikhs are not like the other people of India and that the agitators had better leave them alone. How wise it would have been had the successors of Aitchison followed in his footsteps and had kept that province intact. But other counsels prevailed, and the authorities allowed the Congress movement to spread and strengthen there of late years even more than in the other provinces. The Congress movement is not dangerous in itself, and if kept within due bounds under proper guidance it is harmless and may possibly do some good. But it is rarely kept within due bounds, and it easily proceeds very far indeed in its criticism of the Government and its utterances against it. Constant and carping criticism of the officials who carry on the Government in a country like India, which, till recent years, was accustomed to yield unquestioning obedience to the authorities, tends to lower unduly their prestige, and whatever may be said to the contrary, the English rule in India essentially depends upon its prestige, upon the opinion which the natives of the country have of its strength to hold it. Weaken this opinion, and you *ipso facto* weaken your hold upon the country. A tenth of a million here hold three hundred millions of an alien race and religion in subjection. Surely it cannot be by merely their strength ; it must be by the opinion which the natives have of that strength and also of their own weakness. Now this opinion on both its sides is being deliberately sapped in recent years.

The natives of India are being taught to underrate the English and to exaggerate their own strength. The Congress party is insidiously doing its best to lower the English in the eyes of the people of this country, who have no longer that respect for their

rulers which they had until the present generation. This is obvious to all who silently watch the people and know their ways, and the Congress movement has been one of the causes of this weakening. The work of the English officials under these circumstances has become increasingly difficult of late years. Most of the educated class of which the Congress Party is made up bear no goodwill whatever to these officials, and to the English race generally, because they have come to think that but for these officials they would be the administrators of the country. They everywhere try to put a spoke into the wheels of the administration as carried on at present, and complicate the already highly complex work of ruling the masses. The fact must be fully realised by the people of England that the hopes with which they tried to create the class of educated Indians are being well nigh shattered. This class was intended to help England in its work of reconciling the masses to her rule, and to render that rule popular. It is not only not doing it, but oftentimes it is doing just the opposite. Much of the present unpopularity of British rule is owing to this class. They misinterpret the actions of the Government to the masses through the native press which has become the source of discord between the rulers and the ruled far and wide in the land. They magnify the inevitable defects of a foreign government so much, that they are beginning to appear as crimes in the eyes of the ignorant people. They gloss over the many good qualities and effects of that rule to the country, and nothing is said about them. Some of these are even twisted and made to appear as not boons but calamities. The material advancement of India in several directions which is patent to all candid observers,

they altogether blink, and accuse the present rule of hopelessly impoverishing the country and draining it of its wealth. "Poverty of India" is the main text on which they have been preaching for years together, and they perversely hold English rule responsible for this poverty.

This continuous arraigning of British rule by the educated class before the ignorant people was dangerous enough in ordinary times. But during the last decade, when the country has been passing through terrible times, when nearly every physical calamity has befallen them and their patience is being tried by cruel sufferings, the mischief of this licensed criticism of the present rule is incalculable. When in the midst of their woes the people are told in so many words that British rule is the cause of all their woes, that it causes famines and connives at the ravages of plague if it also does not actually cause them, one can well imagine the effect. The generality of the people of India are mild and long-suffering; they can put up with much. But they are also extremely ignorant and gullible. They render themselves an easy prey to the designing persons among them, who purposely mislead them and try to set them against their rulers. The educated class are bitter against the officials first and against the English people generally, for not allowing the administration to pass into their hands. They know very well that they cannot do much harm to the English by this hostility of theirs. The English themselves blame them for idle talk. They are now beginning to show that they are not all idle talkers, and developing an unwonted activity against the rulers. They are trying to stir up the masses against them, and secretly take measures to organise serious mischief for the British. If they have time and

opportunity enough, they will succeed in raising such troubles for the rulers as the latter have never yet experienced in the past, and beside which the troubles of the Mutiny of 1857 will pale. The Mutiny was a mere rising of sepoys, and was a military revolt. But if the educated and discontented class is allowed to have its own way unchecked for long, it means to have an agrarian rising throughout the various provinces in addition if possible to a military revolt. Some ten years ago when the present cycle of physical suffering was just beginning, some of this class were stirring up the ignorant peasantry of the Deccan, which was then sorely tried by famine and other calamities. The deportation of the Natu brothers, the imprisonment of Tilak and other like preachers of sedition through the press, and other strong measures checked the movement then and prevented it from getting really dangerous.

But the lesson taught then seems not to have been learnt by the authorities. They have become of late very lax. In the face of unmistakeable signs and portents of discontent and disaffection, worse than those manifested in 1897, they have shown themselves unusually forbearing. This forbearance has been characteristically mistaken for weakness by the educated class who interpreted this attitude to the ignorant masses as showing that the rulers were really afraid of them. They made use of the Partition of Bengal as an instrument of agitation in the most unscrupulous manner, and succeeded in inflaming the minds of the people of that province towards their rulers. Partition of the unwieldy province of Bengal was long a crying administrative necessity admitted by all those who knew anything about the difficulty of the officials. It has done the people affected by it real good, and

given them a better, because more efficient, administration to look after their affairs. It in reality decentralised a highly centralised Government and decentralization is always popular with the native politicians. The people of the new province created by Partition, that of Eastern Bengal, were at first disposed to welcome the change, and the majority welcome it still. But for some reasons the educated class of Bengal determined to oppose Partition. It was brought about by Lord Curzon a *persona ingratissima* with them, and they wanted to show that none of his acts could have been right and wise. It afforded them just the opportunity which they wanted and they seized it eagerly. What they have made of it and how well they have succeeded in sowing bitter discord between the rulers and the ruled, and amongst the ruled themselves by inciting the Hindus against the Mahomedans, we all know well enough by this time. For the past twenty months they have carried on a campaign of bitter reviling not only against Partition, but against British rule and the English race, of whose fruits the full crop has yet to be reaped hereafter. They have raked up old sores, reminded the people of Bengal about the Mutiny and why it failed, with an eye to teach them indirectly how another rising may succeed in the future. They drew pointed attention of the people to their present defenceless state in which they have no arms,—they call such state emasculation.

The people of Bengal being naturally very mild, these agitators, who all belong to the educated class, failed in their object of creating any immediate and serious mischief against their rulers. They have rendered the task of peaceful administration difficult, it is true, and have lowered the Government in the eyes of the people. But

beyond this they have not done much harm, though the wish to do it has been all along very keen. But in the province of the Five Rivers, they found they could do very serious mischief and revenge themselves for their failure in their own province. I firmly believe, and others have good grounds for believing with me, that the recent plot in the Punjab which has just been nipped in the bud most fortunately, was hatched in Bengal in Bengali minds. Lajpat Rai, however influential a leader in the Punjab, was really, it will be found, under the thumb of still greater agitators in Bengal. If the Sikhs could really be turned against the English, the main support of the latter would be gone they thought. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas, they know very well, are the parts of the native army on which the English rely most. The Gurkhas they found incorruptible ; and for their loyal service in quelling the local disorders in East Bengal when employed by the authorities there, they incurred the special hatred of the Bengali agitators. These brave little men, who had remained true as steel to the British and laboured hard to maintain law and order whenever they were called upon, were abused and reviled in the Babu press as slaves and minions of the English, and as mercenary barbarians devoid of any patriotism. Among the Sikhs these agitators hoped for better success.

The brave people of the Punjab are really not less loyal than the Gurkhas. But they have been severely tried by adversity of late, and their greatest suffering has been from the plague. The Bengali agitator knew that their distress was intense, and he also was shrewd enough to know that their temperament was different from his own people's. Moreover continuous and severe scarcity during recent years which has become

chronic, had made that people sullen, and not very well inclined to the authorities, who must get their revenue in bad years as well as good, with occasional remissions it is true. When the crops yielded them a poor return they naturally thought the Government demand too heavy. Indeed Government demand on land not only in the Punjab but in all the other provinces, is considered too heavy by the people, and is the standing subject of complaint and grievance against the authorities. The educated class make the fullest possible use of this grievance of the people to render British rule still more unpopular. In the Punjab the Bengali agitators found fruitful soil for their nefarious schemes, and worked on the mind of the people who had already lost their balance by much physical suffering. The educated class is not very strong in the Punjab where it is of recent growth. But it is strongly reinforced from the older province of Bengal, whose people mainly work the Punjabi press, and help in various other ways to create there a state of affairs similar to that in their own province. The Punjab Government recently sent all the Bengalis in its service back to their homes in Bengal as they were supposed to fan the flames secretly in that province. The wisdom and foresight of this step cannot be doubted.

The agrarian discontent in the Punjab is not of sudden growth; it is of pretty long duration. But it was used as a means of stirring up disaffection only recently on the advent of the Bengalis on the scene. The recent Canal Colonization Bill, a false step on the part of the Punjab Government as, however well meant, it afforded another handle to these agitators to stir up the populace and as it went far to alienate a very useful and loyal class of cultivators at a time when everything should have

been done to conciliate them, has little to do with the dangerous unrest, except that it was seized upon as another pretext to run down the Government and to influence adversely the minds of the Sikhs. In a recent pamphlet, which was so widely distributed among the Sikhs that a copy was found with one of that people in London, and of which there is much reason to suppose that it was inspired if not written by these Bengali agitators in the Punjab, that military people were tried to be incited to rebellion by reminding them of their present distress and suffering, which they were told was owing to the judgment of Providence on them for helping the English during the Mutiny and for not making common cause with the other Indian peoples in their troubles since. It is easy to see that the writer means that the Sikhs should join the Bengalis, who really are the Indians in trouble alluded to, or else they would be visited with still greater suffering by Providence. Plague is cleverly used by the Bengali writer to favour his people and smite those who do not make common cause with them!

Terrorism of this religious or rather superstitious kind is not the only weapon used by these clever people. They do not forego flattery. That proud race is flattered by being told that it was their aid alone which saved the English from destruction in the crisis of 1857, and but for these brave faithful Sikhs, the rulers would have been driven from this country into the sea. This gross caricature of history, which exalts the Sikhs from being the helpmates of the English to their saviours, and of whose untruth the supple Bengalee is well aware, is cunningly calculated to puff these gallant people up with an exaggerated notion of their own importance, and to bring them into the same frame of mind in

which the Poorbeah Brahmin sepoys of the old Bengal army were before the Mutiny. These sepoys were incited to mutiny by similar exaggerated and absurd ideas of their strength, which were put into their heads by the emissaries of Nana Sahib and the kings of Delhi and Oudh. These sepoys were then told that they had really conquered the enemies of the English everywhere even in distant Afghanistan and China and Burma, and had presented them with an Empire in India. And how did the English treat their benefactors, they then asked ? They exaggerated all the defects of the English and their faults through ignorance and egligence, and fabricated others of which they were innocent, and succeeded in making a mountain of the Mutiny of 1857 out of the molehill of greased cartridges and the like childish things. Similar tactics were imitated by the agitators in the Punjab and the seditious seducers and corruptors of the Sikh soldiery. The latter were exalted into the real props of English rule in India in their own eyes, and then tried to be inflamed against the English by depicting the conduct of the latter as rank ingratitude to a people to whom they owe so much. They are said to be punished by the gods for remaining faithful to the English, and for standing up with them for law and order, and for not making common cause with Bengalis and others, who would destroy if they could the *Pax Britannica* which, it is proved over and over again, is the only salvation of India and stands between it and anarchy of the worst type !

Such a conspiracy so well and deep laid by cunning heads and hands, inspired by an inveterate hatred of the English officials and the whole English race, has been not indeed fully exposed to public view—it is not politic that it should be—but has been arrested in time in its dangerous course. It is a matter of sincere rejoicing to all lovers-

of the British rule and of law and order, that it should have been dissolved thus ere it could develop further complications. The authorities in India are doubtless wide awake. Indeed they have been usually so and are very rarely caught napping on such occasions. Then it may be asked, why they did not take measures even earlier and allowed sedition to proceed even thus far. This is a question which it is not easy to answer. The Government of India has of late shown itself weak when it should have shown itself strong. Its policy towards the Partition agitation in Bengal has been inexplicably weak, and has created a very bad impression among the natives everywhere. They can explain the unusual forbearance shown by it in this matter in only one way, and that by assuming it to mean that it is afraid of the agitation in some way or other. This impression is disastrous. Of late years, the notions of the natives of India about England's strength and her position among the Great Powers of the world have undergone a slow but marked change. The Boer War has been the chief cause of this change. The unprepared state in which England found herself at the beginning of that war has made a profound impression about England's weakness, which her splendid conduct during the latter part of that struggle, has not altogether removed, and many unfriendly critics of England in India openly said at the time that peace with the Boers had been bought by the weak and wearied English.

Here, too, we see the hand of disaffected agitators against British rule. While the Boer War was going on, their remarks on England's difficulties were very mischievous. Through the native papers they pointed out the weak points of England undisguisedly to the people under pretence of criticising the course and

conduct of the war. They delighted in taking note of and magnifying every little circumstance that could be twisted so as to appear against the English. They noticed Continental politics and affairs in these native papers mainly to show to the people of this country how England was belittled by the other powers, and they took a malicious pleasure in keeping their readers well informed of the wild course of Anglo-phobia which ran riot on the Continent, chiefly France and Germany, during the war.

The late great struggle in the Far East between Russia and Japan has also had considerable effect in weakening the native's impression of the strength of England. Russia had always been magnified by these disaffected Indian critics as the great rival of which England was always afraid. So when Russia was thoroughly defeated and her power broken, one would have supposed that these critics would be silent, as their one great pretext of belittling England by comparing her with mighty Russia was gone. But in Japan they forthwith saw another formidable rival of whom England was afraid, and in the English alliance with Japan they could perceive nothing but another sign of England's weakness. Proud England could not ally herself with an Asiatic power unless she were forced to do so by circumstances. The success of Japan has indeed turned the heads of many of our people. They forget the peculiar circumstances of Japan, the immense sacrifices she has made, the splendid qualities of character that her people have shown, and only remember that she is Asiatic. Are they not Asiatic also, and why cannot they go and do likewise? One would think some of the Indian peoples are suffering, since the recent phenomenal success of Japan, from a "swelled head." No wonder

that the English find it increasingly hard to rule people with these absurd notions.

Whilst circumstances like these have made the natives somewhat bumptious and giddy, events have happened both in England and India which tend to confirm in a certain degree the native's impression that the rulers are not so strong as heretofore. The unfortunate difference between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener disclosed to the natives that civil authority is under the military, and that the rulers are not united. But the party system in England has done much more harm to the opinion which the natives have of the power of England. This party system causes a breach of continuity in English policy towards India and by this dislocation causes much mischief, of which the present unrest is an instance. The present troubles were owing in some degree to the change of ministry eighteen months ago. The Radicals when in opposition had shown themselves so sympathetic towards Indian agitators that the latter thought that, now they had come into power, they would undo the work of their predecessors. In this hope they kept up the agitation against Partition. They have tried to frighten the Radical party by their dangerous and highly objectionable tactics just frustrated, thinking it would yield as being less firm than the Conservative party. Misled by some Radical members of Parliament, who gave them the foolish advice of bringing Mr. Morley to surrender to their persistence, against his will and strong common sense, the extreme party of these agitators has been led into criminal folly. Mr. Morley has shown on the present critical occasion that there is nothing to choose so far as India and the continuance of British rule here are concerned, between a

Radical and a Conservative Secretary of State. Would that the educated class here took this lesson to heart once for all ! Thirteen years ago Sir Henry Fowler taught them a similar lesson under far less grave circumstances. They have forgotten it. Will they forget the present lesson too ? It remains to be seen. But it is absolutely incumbent on them, now that influential members of their party—Lajput Rai, it must be remembered went to England last year with Mr Gokale as the chosen spokesman of that party—have been caught in seditious intrigues by the authorities, to disown them and purge their ranks of all such firebrands and plotters against the State and the public peace. Until this is done English statesmen should show them no countenance and would be justified in postponing the granting of even their reasonable demands. Mr. Morley in his Budget speech the other evening strangely said that it would be showing weakness if he did not grant their reasonable demands, and proceeded to announce some great concessions to the educated class in India. I think it a great mistake to do this, when we are yet treading on the hot embers of a dangerous conspiracy against the State formed by some of the most influential persons in the very party which is to be the gainer by these concessions. It would certainly be taken in the light of weakness by the people of India, who will think that Mr. Morley and the Radical party or indeed the English people, have yielded to the threat of conspiracy what they would not yield to a quiet demand. Already a member of his own party, Mr. Keir Hardy, has sounded the note that these concessions should have been granted five years ago in which case he said there would have been no troubles like the present. This is tantamount to saying that these

concessions are ungraciously granted, they are almost extorted, owing to the dangerous threats of the educated party, some of whom had to turn conspirators for the sake of putting the screw on to the thumb of " Honest John." This is a dangerous impression to get about among the natives, for there is sure to be a repetition of such tactics on the next occasion of getting still further concessions.

However this may be, and whether it is considered a sign of weakness in the Englishman or not, to yield to the demands, this much is certain that the educated class will not be pacified by this concession. Very soon there will come the inevitable demand for more and yet more. It is hardly sixteen years since the Legislative Councils were enlarged by Lord Cross' Act of 1891, and during these sixteen years the educated party has shown itself no better but certainly worse, as late events have proved, than what it was before 1891. It has confessedly grown more bitterly hostile to the English and now wants to drag the poor illiterate masses into the struggle, and makes them miserable by inflaming their minds against the British rule. It gives little help to the English in their hard task of ruling three hundred millions, but on the contrary it obstructs smooth administration and is delighted to put a spoke in its wheels whenever it can get a chance. The English have very little to gain by conciliating this class if it ever can be conciliated. Their object is, to put it undisguisedly, to take the whole work of administration into their hands, to fill all the posts which are at present filled by Englishmen, with the exception, as Mr. Dadabhai Noroji was pleased to say before the Welby Commission, of five or six of the highest posts like the Viceroy's and Governors. Of course the English will have to keep their army in India,

otherwise it is doubtful whether these educated natives would remain at their high and lucrative posts long enough to draw their first month's salary.

Instead of trying vainly to conciliate such people by political concessions which do not touch the real people, the English would be much better advised in looking into the condition of these poor people, and in trying to find out what it really is that makes their rule with all its undoubted benefits unpopular with them. They will find it in the ever-increasing expenditure, and consequently to keep pace with it, ever-increasing taxation. Not that the native does not get his tax's worth. But, it may be asked, is it really worth while getting so much from him and giving him in return so much of a highly efficient government, at the risk of making British rule highly unpopular? The wiser course would seem to be to take less by way of taxation, and of course to give in return a less efficient government than now obtains. India is a poor country, and it is not wise to give such a poor country such a highly efficient and therefore costly government as the English are giving at present. However that may be, the English should always in this country quietly keep their powder dry and their rifles ready. Let them go on governing this dependency as their conscience dictates, without much heed to the criticism of any particular class. And let them above all not depend on such political reforms and concessions as do no good to the people at large but only benefit the selfish few who are far from feeling grateful for the boon.

R. P. KARKARIA.

Art. VI.—MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN CALCUTTA.

No. 1.

THE administration of the city of Calcutta has passed through various phases. And in its many vicissitudes it has suffered the common lot of municipal governments in the dissatisfaction of its inhabitants. Among the later changes, perhaps the most eventful incident occurred in the year 1875. A bill had been introduced, in the local Legislature, to consolidate the 14 Acts in force relating to the Calcutta Municipality, leaving the existing constitution unchanged. On the 27th November 1875, at the stage when the Council was considering the report of the Select Committee, Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in response to an appeal from the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal in that behalf, declared 'in favour of the principle of election, suggesting that "a large portion—at least a large portion—of the municipal commissioners should be elected." In the result, self-government in a modified form as embodied in Act IV. of 1876, was conferred on Calcutta.

This, however, was not the first grant of the elective system, the principle having been admitted in 1840. It may be of interest to trace the development of municipal government in Calcutta from its earliest beginnings.

The first legislative enactment, directly affecting Calcutta, is to be found in 33 George III c.52. Under that Act of Parliament, a further number of Justices of the Peace was appointed (the original number having comprised the Governor-General, members of the Supreme Council, and the Judges of the Supreme Court) and ta

their charge was entrusted the "cleansing, repairing and watching" the streets of Calcutta. They were empowered, in order to provide funds for the purposes mentioned, to levy an assessment at a rate not exceeding 5 *per cent.* on the gross annual value of houses, buildings and grounds, and in case of "urgent occasion" the Governor-General was authorised, at his discretion, to impose a further rate of 2½ *per cent.*

If the functions of the Justices were limited and their funds circumscribed, the enterprise of a Governor-General, in days of old, enjoyed a wide scope for raising funds for public purposes. Lotteries, which in England had become a recognised source of supply for charitable and public objects, were introduced into Calcutta at the close of the eighteenth century. They already had provided funds for the construction of the Town Hall when, under the first Lord Minto, by an order in Council, an official organisation was established to provide funds for the improvement of Calcutta. In the interval, before 1817, this organisation had expended, it has been calculated, about seven-and-a-half lakhs of rupees for public purposes. In 1817, again by an order in Council, a fresh Committee was constituted, and the objects for which the proceeds of the Lotteries might be applied, were more clearly defined : they were to be used for "the construction of works of a permanent nature" and anticipated the position now taken by "Loans" raised by the Corporation. Conservancy, and the maintenance of roads and other works executed by the Committee, were paid for out of the assessments collected by the Justices, the latter fund constituting what in the present day would be termed "Revenue Expenditure." The Lotteries continued under Government auspices for many years. But the public conscience was awakened

and the popularity of the Lotteries waned. In 1833 they were regarded as extinct for all purposes of improvement in Calcutta, and in 1834 they showed a loss of over Rs. 9,000. Before their organisation was dissolved, in about 1841, they had become heavily indebted to the Government. But they have left lasting memorials of the beneficent effect of their working. Wellington Street, College Street, Cornwallis Street, Wellesley Street, and the squares and tanks of the same names are entirely due to the Lottery organisation, as also Amherst Street, Mirzapore Street and Free School Street. There are many other improvements, too numerous to find place here, made from the same source : among others the Secretary's Walk, better known as the Red Road, with its balustrade, the Children's Walk alongside Chowringhee Road, Chandpal Ghât pumping station for supplying water for the streets, also Strand Road, lands for which were obtained from neighbouring zemindars under express conditions, on which, later, large claims were based on behalf of the city. These claims led to a warm controversy in Council, when the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1863 was before the local Legislature.

The Lotteries played so important a part in the structural improvement of Calcutta, that reference to them could not have been omitted. But of course they formed only a parallel organisation to the subject of this review. The Justices continued to collect and administer the municipal funds under the English statute during the operations of the successive Lottery Committees.

In 1833 an experiment at representative municipal government was first made. A scheme suggested by the Chief Magistrate (Mr. Thomas McFarlane) was sanctioned by the Government for a small area of the town, but legislative authority was not given to it. After a

trial of two years, its author admitted it had been an utter failure. In 1836, Lord Auckland appointed the famous Fever Hospital Committee, the outcome of the representations of Surgeon (later Sir Ronald) Martin : to the objects of that Committee, Lord Auckland expressly added an enquiry into local management and taxation.

In the year 1840 the Committee presented their first report. It is a most interesting document to which the exigencies of space will permit only brief reference. It exposed the appalling conditions under which the residents in those early days existed. After an exhaustive enquiry the Committee came to the following conclusions: (1) that they found no natural impediment which application of science and capital could not readily overcome, for thoroughly draining, cleansing and ventilating the city and suburbs, and supplying with wholesome water the whole city and suburbs ; (2) that the native quarters in all these respects were in a condition of such total neglect as to render them naturally the seat of disease, and inconsistent with moral improvement and political prosperity ; and that the still imperfect, though improved parts inhabited by the British, and the noxious inhalations produced by the state of the native quarters and the marshes called the Salt Water Lakes produced in these parts effects inconsistent with health ; and (3) that the removal of the causes which generated disease to so "frightful a degree" would be effected by thoroughly draining, cleansing, and ventilating the city and suburbs, and draining the Salt Water Lakes, and that an ample supply of good and wholesome water, for domestic purposes, would be afforded to every part of the city and suburbs, by the formation of a sufficient head of water within it, and excavating tanks, and thus the city rendered a

healthy residence for the natives, and not otherwise injurious to the European constitution than through the effect of the climate. And yet, on the question of municipal government only two plans were received : one from C K. Robinson, Esq., Magistrate, and the other from the Trades Association ; the Chamber of Commerce "declining to enter upon the subject, as being beyond their province." Again, want of space curtails notice of the Report in this connection. The Trades Association had advocated a plan based on election by inhabitant householders, and the Committee expressed their opinion that while they had every reason to believe that the members of that Association would perform their duties laboriously and zealously, but considering that the European inhabitants were an insignificant part of the whole population of Calcutta, and that, as by far the greater part of them could only be regarded as temporary residents, they could not recommend what they considered to be unsuitable to the great majority of the inhabitants : and they proceeded as follows :—

"Your Committee are, however, of opinion that considering the rapid progress now making in education, many years will not elapse before a class of natives will be found in Calcutta able and willing to aid their European townsmen in performing those municipal duties usually entrusted to the inhabitants of cities in Europe, and your Committee therefore feel anxious that some preparation should, if possible, be made for so training the inhabitants of Calcutta that they may in time relieve the Government entirely from the attention which it is now compelled to give to these minute local details."

At this period, the sources of revenue for Municipal purposes were the house rate (Sa. Rs. 1,97,000) and the abkari tax (Sa. Rs. 1,46,000) producing a total sum of Rs. 3,43,000.*

e Mr. Beverley's Census Report, 1876.

Act XXIV of 1840, which was the first enactment by an Indian Legislature relating to municipal government, was contemporaneous with the Report. It was intended to establish a voluntary system of self-government. The town was divided into four divisions, and on the application of two-thirds of the ratepayers of any division, who came prepared with a scheme, to undertake themselves, the assessment collection and management of the rates of their own division, the Governor of Bengal was empowered, if the scheme obtained his "full approbation," to "authorise the same accordingly." The appropriation of municipal funds was extended : lighting and watering, hitherto provided by the Government, and also "drains" were added to the existing items "cleansing and repairing the roads and streets." On the other hand, the Government undertook the burthen of "watching," and they continued to bear the expenses connected with that service, until a police rate was imposed on Calcutta in 1867. The apathy of the general body of the Europeans from the outset, and the admittedly backward condition of the Indians, were not a happy augury of success. The first legislative effort to introduce self-government proved abortive. Not a single application was made to Government under the Act from any division.

Act XVI of 1847 was the second attempt made. Its preamble shows the influence of the Fever Hospital Committee :

"And whereas it is apparent that the sewerage and drainage of the town of Calcutta and the supply of water for the domestic use of the inhabitants thereof, and the due cleansing of drains therein, and the means of providing for the due ventilation of the town, and the repairing, cleansing and lighting the roads and streets, and the making convenient lines of

communication by spacious streets, and the preventing and removing of nuisances."

It repealed the previous Act, and transferred the powers and duties of the collection and disbursement of the Municipal Fund to a Board of seven Commissioners : three to be appointed by the Government, and one to be elected by each of the four divisions of the town. The Commissioners were to be elected annually, and they were to receive such salaries as the Government might from time to time fix : five formed a quorum.

The appropriation of the Municipal Funds was further extended (in addition to the purposes mentioned in the Act repealed) to include the formation of tanks and aqueducts, opening out of streets and squares in congested parts of the town, filling up stagnant pools, etc., and improving and embellishing the town. And for the first time, a tax on horses, vehicles and draught animals was authorised, ranging from Rs. 32 for a four-wheeled carriage with springs, for two horses, to 8 annas for a draught bullock. By another Act, passed in the same year (Act XXII of 1847), authority was first given to the Commissioners to borrow money on the security of their assets.

A scheme for elections under Act XVI of 1847 was duly agreed to by the rate-payers. It was accepted by the Government and came into operation. It, however, proved "inconvenient and ineffectual," according to the preamble of the repealing Act : yet, not altogether ineffectual. It is on record that, while the conservancy was in the hands of the Justices the remissions for "empty" premises had amounted to nearly Rs. 50,000, under the Commissioners it had not exceeded Rs. 14,000 ; and notwithstanding the increased establishment, without

any material increase to the fund, the repairs and cleansing were "far more satisfactory than the Justices were able to effect."

It is the fact, however, that the operation of the Act, relating to elections, was stopped, by Act XXXIX of 1850, before the repeal of the Act itself. "The elected representatives had sought the office not from motives of ambition or zeal for the duty, but for the emoluments attached to it," was the Chief Magistrate's scathing criticism. Act XVI of 1847 was eventually repealed by Act X of 1852.

The changes in the law which it was expected would make the system of election more effective, were : the number of Commissioners was reduced to four : two to be appointed by the Government, and two to be elected annually, one Commissioner by each of the two divisions into which the town was divided for the purpose, two were to form a quorum ; the qualifications of the electors were raised ; each Commissioner was required to be a voter himself ; the system of voting was amended, and elaborate rules therefor were included in the Act ; the President, who was to be a nominated Commissioner, was given a casting vote, and the salary, for nominated and elected Commissioners alike, was fixed at Rs. 250 a month. The rates were raised to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., or one anna in the rupee, as a *maximum*. The appropriation of the funds was extended to include construction of new drains and sewers, cleansing, repairing or filling up or abolishing old drains and sewers.

Again we find that, before the repeal of the Act (Act X of 1852) its operation relating to elections was stopped by Act. XXVIII of 1854. The elective system had now been tried under two distinct Acts and

had failed, gravely, under each of them. But it could not be said that the system had been given a proper trial. Before any experience had been gained in the subject the Government had thrown the burden of devising the scheme with regard to elections on the rate-payers, to be agreed to at a general meeting of not less than 100 rate-payers. This was hardly the best method of arriving at a proper conclusion on the first introduction of a complicated subject. The scheme was, after all, only a tentative effort, in a venture which, to some engaged in formulating it, was strange in every aspect. It would be ungenerous to hold those made responsible for it, also solely accountable for any failure when we find that the Legislature, with opportunity for full consideration, enacted a law which was defective in respect of the very points with regard to which certain difficulties had been revealed by actual experience. By a strange oversight the Act, although it provided for the registration of voters, did not make registration an indispensable qualification, with the consequence that the provision was altogether neglected and paper votes and other modes of trickery that were resorted to, were made easy. And, further, the better class of citizens, who would not have resorted to corrupt devices, were deterred from offering themselves as candidates, owing to the disregard by the Government of the warnings of competent advisers who were in touch with public opinion and sentiment.

The Chief Magistrate of Calcutta (Mr. Mills) did not believe that an elective system would be a success, and boldly said so, "with the European community "the main thought is to return to England as speedily "as possible and there is no public spirit ;" this description did not apply to the Trades' Association, whose members consistently supported, in the past, as contemporary

records show, the more popular forms of self-government ; "added to these causes" the Chief Magistrate proceeded "is the impossible clause in the new "Act, of giving the President a casting vote, the community looking upon the clause as giving the inhabitants merely the semblance of local self-government." * * * "The native community take little or no interest in "municipal improvement and the removal of local nuisances :" men of rank and opulence, among them, he asserted, would never offer themselves as candidates. In this the Chief Magistrate was answered, as will presently be seen. He would have preferred a Board of wholly nominated members, but he frankly admitted there would be objections if all were Government nominees, nevertheless he suggested a Board of five members : the Chief Magistrate as President (owing to the intimate connexion then existing between the Board and the Police) an engineer, a medical officer, together with two elected members : "without a casting vote to the President "which is so much objected to by the public."

In 1840, as we have seen, the native inhabitants of the city were characterised as unprepared for self-government and were deemed unequal even to give voice to any opinion on the question. Ten years later, we find Rajah Radha Kant, Bahadur, in prompt response to the invitation of the Government for opinions on the Municipal Bill then before the Legislature, on behalf of the native inhabitants, submitting a largely and influentially signed memorial. It expressed very decided views on the subject. Presumably the memorialists were competent to speak on behalf of their community and they represented that "those who were land-holders and "householders have the deepest stake in the salubrity of "the town, would more readily canvas on that account:"

but they objected to a salary being attached to the office. "What was emphatically required was a Board of "officials without stipends. With an honorary Commission there would be no question as to the character of "the voting, no doubt as to the manner in which suffrages were secured." If the office had been made honorary, the objection of the Chief Magistrate that "those who seek office seek it for the salary and not for the honor it confers" might have been met.

In agreement with the Chief Magistrate, the memorialists objected to a casting vote being allowed to the President. The elected Commissioners, they said, would be reduced to "cyphers in the account." "If "the rate-payers are to have a voice at all in the disbursement of monies levied from themselves, that voice "should be more than nominal if not actually permanent." *Sic* these criticisms were unheeded, with unhappy results.

Both parties, the Chief Magistrate and the memorialists, strongly protested against one of the Government Commissioners being also appointed Secretary. "He is the executive of the Board" the Magistrate said, "and could not be controlled if he also has a seat on the Board." "We cannot conceive," protested the memorialists "upon what principle it has been decided "to give a commissionership to this officer, who has to "prepare the remission accounts and under whose "superintendence large sums of money are disbursed, "for which he becomes responsible to the Board. We "earnestly entreat that this consideration may be held in "remembrance, and that your Honour will reflect "whether an anomaly be not involved in the double capacity of master and servant, which must be injurious to "the public interest, and a fatal impediment to the free "working of the Board." In the result the appointment

of the Secretary was left to the Board, and it was the only objection on behalf of the public that prevailed. The Government conceded the point to the public in 1852. In the present day, the head of the executive is maintained as Chairman of the Corporation. He is also by law, President of the General Committee and President of every Committee or Sub-Committee of which he may be a member. He, however, under the law, is not accounted a "Municipal Officer :" possibly it may be said that in this is the difference : that he has been made a master, without being a servant of the Commissioners, or of the public.

These proceedings are attractive, because they reveal certain conditions that can be traced down to the present day. And they disclose how early, pronounced views were formed on certain issues that still remain with us and consistently are pressed on behalf of that portion of the public that takes an active interest in the municipal government of Calcutta

The horse and carriage tax, introduced in 1847, found no place in Act X of 1852. Some difficulty had been experienced on its first introduction. The law was extremely defective on the point, and generally : a characteristic, it must be admitted, to be found in Calcutta Municipal law to the present day. In a judgment of the Supreme Court, in the case of *Biddle v. Tarraney Charn Bonnerjee* it was commented on in the following terms :—

"In looking into this Act, which is replete with uncertainty of every kind, it is difficult to say what constitutes liability for carriages and horses : or rather where the liability attaches."

The Council had forgotten their Spenser : "what doe statutes avail without penaltys." One of the practical difficulties of the Act was that it imposed no

penalty on persons who neglected or refused to fill up their schedule : but this, and other defects, might have been remedied by an amended Act. That course was strongly recommended by the Municipal Commissioners and the Bengal Government. No trace can be found of the reason for the abolition of the tax. But the house rate was raised from 5 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

A supplementary Act (XII of 1852) was also passed. It discloses the advance in the views of the Government regarding municipal administration, and a further developement of the policy, which had been foreshadowed earlier, of the Government being relieved of local details. The Commissioners were vested with the control of the streets, and of public tanks and other means of providing a water-supply, existing and to be made : they were empowered to make, widen, or "stop up" streets ; make canals and aqueducts, to execute work by contract, with a penalty of Rs. 500, on a Commissioner or Municipal officer, if interested in one ; to purchase or take on lease, with the consent of the Governor, lands for Municipal purposes ; to sell lands, to improve and cleanse drains, with power of entry, where necessary, into houses and lands ; to intervene in cases of dangerous houses; and prefer indictments in certain cases ; to inspect bazaars and slaughter houses ; slaughter houses were to be registered, and no new ones to be used without sanction ; the Commissioners were authorised to place boards and plates for names of streets on private walls, owners were to affix numbers to their houses, occupiers were to keep lighted lamps on their gates, at their own expense. The Commissioners were required to cause the streets and footpaths to be kept clean, and the refuse to be removed. Certain conservancy regulations—which survive to this day in Police and Municipal Acts—were

formulated. Supervision, in many other matters, was transferred to the Commissioners, and detailed directions were embodied in the Act to give effect to their control.

Compulsory gate lamps, imposed by Act XII of 1852, provided a crude and arbitrary method of lighting streets. They constituted an unequal and, in many instances, a very heavy tax upon occupiers, thus : while the occupier of a house letting at Rs. 60 was free, his neighbour, who might be the occupier of house letting at Rs 70, was burdened with an obligation which was equal to a tax of 5 *per cent.* on the rental ; whereas to the occupier of a house letting at Rs. 350, the obligation was equal to only 1 *per cent.* And contemporary reports show that the gate lamps, owing to their position within or between the pillars of the gateways, and at uneven distances, gave very little aid to the general lighting of the town, while, in the year 1854, for the purpose of lighting public roads, there were only 418 lamps maintained out of Municipal funds, at a total annual cost of Rs. 16,000.

It was in these circumstances that in the year 1855, in order to introduce gas and improve the lighting of Calcutta generally, the "Member for Bengal," Mr. E. Currie, brought in a Bill in Council, to impose, on houses assessed at Rs. 5 a month and upwards, a lighting rate not exceeding 4 *per cent.*, on occupiers of houses in streets lighted with gas, and not exceeding 2 *per cent.* if they were in streets lighted with oil. This tax was calculated to produce Rs. 1,50,000 annually.

That the conditions relating to gate lamps were onerous and lighting inefficient may freely be admitted. But better lighting could hardly be regarded as the most urgent need while the terribly insanitary state of the town, disclosed by the Fever Hospital Committee,

remained unameliorated. The Government had recognised the seriousness of the evil, as can be gathered from the preamble to the Act of 1847, already quoted, but their desire for improvement had not been realised. Individual sufferers in the Northern part of the town had paid the whole or a moiety of the cost for mending drains, here and there, in the vicinity of their dwelling houses. Europeans subscribed together—a list showing a collection amounting to Rs. 1,865 is extant—to secure attention in their quarter. If Rs. 16,000 had been contributed out of public funds for lighting, only Rs. 18,000 had been disbursed in the previous year for repairing drains and bridges, and conditions continued practically the same as when the report of the Fever Hospital Committee was published. The discussion on the motion for the second reading of the Bill is of special interest on account of the lively interest discernable in matters affecting local administration.

The constitution of the legislature was still purely official. It is refreshing to find a reality in the debates that took place in those days, and the advantage to the public, consequent upon the freedom enjoyed by the able men who composed the Council, untrammelled by any consideration other than what might be their individual opinions with regard to the questions in issue.

The opposition to the measure, which had been brought in with the approval and support of the Government of Bengal, was led by Mr. Peacock, Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council. He afterwards became Sir Barnes Peacock, Chief Justice of Bengal, and his memory still is held in high esteem in legal circles in Calcutta, for the attributes that win respect for a Judge. He was supported in his opposition by Mr. C. Allen, Member for the North-Western Provinces and

Mr. J. A. Dorin, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Council. Mr. Peacock was in favour of a moderate general tax, to remove from private individuals the burden on account of gate lamps, but he desired to forgo the luxury of gas for a few years that they first might have the town properly drained and supplied with wholesome water. He vigorously maintained that the tax proposed for lighting was higher than was necessary, and to levy it would be fatal to the far more important object of efficient ventilation and drainage, and supply of wholesome water.

He read, with great effect, statements, made before the Fever Hospital Committee, of competent authorities : of these extracts from three are reproduced :—

Dr. Graham said :—

" It is impossible for the drains to be in a worse situation than they are at present, rudely constructed, without any knowledge of the principle of draining, the centre of the conduit being in very many places below the level of the extremities—that, even at the Chitpore Road, the drains are so useless after a heavy fall of rain as to render a canoe the preferable mode of transit—that he has observed the road impassable after a fall of rain of less than an hour's duration. *He considers these drains the hot-beds of disease*—that the consequence of their state and the want of ventilation is, of course, disease, often to an alarming extent—that the suburbs—nay, indeed, the entire native town must be considered unhealthy from inefficient or rather no drainage, tainted tanks, and an external mass of animal and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition surrounding them."

He spoke of them as the element in perpetual operation for the destruction of animal life in all parts of the native town and suburbs : he said .

" tainted tanks, want of water, and poisonous drains and imperfect ventilation were the circumstances presenting themselves in the state of the town, and the situation of the

inhabitants as in his opinion affecting injuriously the general health and comforts of the population. *Improve these, widen and water the roads*, and Calcutta will be as healthy as any city in the world."

Mr Phipps said :—

"In many parts of this City, and more especially in the most densely-populated parts of it, not intersected by streets which can be traversed by the scavenger's carts, the drains, many of them merely irregular furrows in the soil, without any brick-work, are continually left in a most filthy, uncleansed state, emitting the most noisome effuvia, doubtless highly pernicious to the health of the inhabitants dwelling in such situations.

Mr. Martin said :—

"It is surprising how much the condition of the Native portion of the Town has been neglected in this great city and its suburbs, in which are to be found all the faults of all the cities in India."

Mr. Peacock drew attention to the Petition signed by 3,600 inhabitants of the city, which had been presented to the Council : an extract from the Petition is given below :—

"That the drainage of the town of Calcutta is so bad as to occasion great sickness and mortality, and many parts of the town are not drained at all.

"That, for want of proper tanks and reservoirs of water, the great part of the inhabitants of the town, especially of the poorer classes, seldom or never taste pure water, and such as they drink has a tendency to produce many and grievous diseases.

"That your Memorialists are unable to remedy these evils and they can only be remedied under legislative enactment, providing how the necessary means shall be raised and expended and by whom the work shall be planned and executed : "

and he continued :—

"He could not throw that Petition aside, and give his vote for raising a tax of a lakh and a half for the purpose of lighting the streets with gas. He asked the Honorable Member to point out how a tax was to be raised for ventilation and drainage if this Bill should pass ?

Mr. Peacock concluded a long and carefully prepared speech, described by Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justice, who followed in the debate, as having been "spoken with great fervour and argued with his (Mr. Peacock's) accustomed force of reasoning," thus :—

"When malaria and pestilential vapours were sowing broad cast around us the seeds of disease and death was it a time to be talking of spending a lakh and a half a year for the purpose of gas lighting? If fever and cholera should rage throughout the city and carry off its inhabitants by hundreds and thousands as their victims, would it be any consolation to us to know that instead of endeavouring to avert these evils from them, we had compelled them to contribute to the splendour and magnificence of the city, and to add something to her title to be called the 'City of Palaces?' He entreated every Honourable Member, and in particular, the Honourable Mover of the Bill, to ask himself this question before he pronounced his vote, and to answer it in the spirit of candour and of truth."

Sir Lawrence Peel supported the motion for the second reading: "he wished for information: inquiry would give it, and he would vote for the second reading that he might obtain through the Select Committee the information which he needed." The second reading was carried by a majority of one vote: and the Bill was referred to a Select Committee. But the debate had not been without influence. The effect of the Report of the Select Committee, which was presented the following year, was the defeat of the Bill. The motion that followed the presentation of the Report was, in effect, that the lighting be referred to the Select Committee appointed to consider the Conservancy and Police of Calcutta: and continued, "and to prepare such Bills as may be necessary "with reference thereto: and that that Committee "be instructed to so frame the Bill to be substituted for "Act X of 1852 as to provide means of carrying out an

"improved system of drainage *in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Report.*"

Mr. Allen moved to omit the words after "thereto" being the last clause of the motion. "He certainly did think," he said, "that they ought not to be bound to prepare a Bill just as the other Select Committee wished it should be prepared." Mr. Peacock was still unappeased. He highly approved of the recommendation to raise a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs for the construction of sewers and surface drains. He would support the proposal to raise that sum or even more. But he objected to a further recommendation of an expenditure of Rs. 1,70,000 for lighting. He therefore opposed the instructions to the Committee to prepare a Bill in accordance with the Select Committee's recommendations. In the result, an amendment, to the effect suggested by Mr. Peacock, which was formulated and proposed by Sir James Colvile (who had succeeded Sir Lawrence Peel as Chief Justice, in the interval since the matter was last before the Council) was carried. It is interesting to analyse the division list :—

AYES.

Sir Arthur Buller.*
 Mr. Allen.†
 Mr. Peacock.‡
 General Low.¶
 The Commander-in-Chief.||
 Sir James Covile.§
 The President.

NOES.

Mr. Currie.**
 Mr. Legeyt,††
 Mr. Eliott.‡‡
 Mr. J. P. Grant.§§

* Puisne Judge of the High Court. | † Member for the North-Western Provinces.

‡ Legal Member of Governor-General's Council.

¶ Military Member of Governor-General's Council.

|| General Anson. | § Chief Justice of Bengal. | ** Member for Bengal.

†† Member for Bombay. | ‡‡ Member for Madras.

§§ Ordinary Member of Governor-General's Council; and later Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The questions which had been under discussion then became merged in the general subject of Municipal Administration and were included in the Act which was substituted for Act X of 1852.

The last matter has been treated with some minuteness of detail. Labour will not have been expended in vain if it serves to bring into relief the circumstance that, because a measure has been proposed with the sanction and support of Government, that circumstance need not be accepted in Council as a determining and conclusive factor ; that opposition to such a measure is not necessarily fractious ; and the incalculable benefit to public interests in dealing with questions before a Council, on their merits, on the part of all members, unhampered by official restrictions. The instance here given was by no means an isolated one where the course of legislation was diverted owing to objection taken in Council on many occasions—more than one of which will find mention later—in past years, opposition, as well by non-official as official members of Council, to the principle or important details of a Bill, influenced legislation.

J. G. APCAR.

Art VII.—THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

I.—BENGAL II.

THOUGH chronologically *Sumachar Durpun* was not the first vernacular newspaper in Bengal, yet practically it laid the foundation of the vernacular journalism in Bengal by directing the attention and energy of the Bengalee people to a neglected literary field which now so much engages their activity and affords such excellent opportunities for benefiting the country. The Serampur journal has left a numerous and flourishing progeny which is now continually on the increase and whose complete lineage I shall describe in a subsequent chapter. Simultaneously with the publication of *Sumachar Durpun*, the missionaries, Carey, Marshman (senior) and Ward, commenced the publication of a monthly journal in English to which Dr. Joshua Marshman gave the title of the *Friend of India*. It was intended to include original essays on questions connected with the progress of improvement in India—a repository of reports of the various societies which were springing up under the genial influence of Lord Hastings* and notices of Bible, missionaries and educational societies in other parts of the world. The first number of the monthly *Friend of India* appeared on the 30th April 1818.†

* Under the *regime* of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper Press. He was a man that did not shrink in 1816 when the first vernacular paper was published at Calcutta, from dwelling on the utility of the same. Addressing the students of the Fort William College, he said:—"It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured: but it is a god-like bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue and waken it into a man."

† In June 1820 Dr. Joshua Marshman commenced the publication of the quarterly *Friend of India*. It was found that the discussion of questions bearing

The third great event in the history of journalism in Bengal during the memorable year 1818 was the foundation of the *Calcutta Journal* by James Silk Buckingham. As the story of its origin, growth and suppression has not been told once with any degree of completeness in the pages of the periodical press, I make no apology for the length of the following account of the *Calcutta Journal* which cannot be devoid of interest in this the tenth generation of Anglo-Indian editors. Almost from the beginning of his journalistic career in Bengal, James Silk Buckingham came into violent collision with the Government of Lord Hastings, and it may be seen that from these quarrels and fightings entailing great sufferings and losses on the redoubtable journalist, the Indian Press had received an abiding influence for the better and got an impetus to assume slowly and steadily the character which has made it the most powerful medium to sound trumpet notes of political struggles at the present day.

James Silk Buckingham thus describes the circumstances under which the *Calcutta Journal* was founded by him on the 2nd October 1818 :—“ It was in the month of June 1818 that I reached Calcutta when I found orders waiting me, directing the ship (of which he was the Captain) to proceed to the coast of Madagascar, for

on the interests of the country in the little monthly miscellany, the original *Friend of India*, swelled its bulk and interfered with its punctual appearance. He determined, therefore, to confine that work to the publication of intelligence relative to the progress of religion and education and to establish a quarterly periodical for “ Essays on subjects connected with India and a review of such works published either in Europe or in India as might in any way affect the interests of the country.” Fifteen numbers were altogether published of the quarterly series, and in 1827 the publication was stopped for want of adequate support as well as for the failing health of Dr. Joshua Marshman. Besides, financial difficulties arose. All these combined in 1827 led to the discontinuance of the monthly and the quarterly series of the *Friend of India*. The weekly *Friend of India* was started on the 1st January 1835, but its history is reserved for treatment in the second volume.

the purpose of giving convoy to some vessels conveying slaves to some part of the territories of the Imaum of Muscat to whom the frigate belonged ; but such was my hostility in principle to slavery in every shape, that though my predecessor had made a fortune of £30,000 in three voyages, and though my command was then yielding me an income of £4,000 a year, I resigned the command without a moment's hesitation, rather than even indirectly give my countenance to a traffic which I abhorred. This circumstance being known, made a great impression in my favour among the mercantile inhabitants of Calcutta, and accordingly soon afterwards, I was applied to by Mr. John Palmer, * then one of the wealthiest as he is † still one of the most highly respected, of all merchants of India, to know whether I should be willing to undertake the editorship and management of a public journal. My first reply was in the negative, as I did not conceive that my previous occupation of a traveller by land and a voyager by sea, had sufficiently prepared me for such an undertaking. When the object of establishing such a journal came, however, to be explained to me, I was less reluctant to enter on the task. The state of the case was represented to me in these terms : there were then existing at Calcutta five or six different newspapers ‡ each of

* John Palmer, head partner of the firm of Palmer and Co., the great Agency House of Calcutta which came to grief in the great financial crash of 1830. Died in 1836.

† This account was drawn up by Buckingham in 1834 when a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to consider his case of forcible deportation by the East India Company and the loss suffered by him for the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*.

‡ There were in Calcutta then —1818—actually nine newspapers : (1) *The India Gazette*; (2) *The Times*; (3) *The Asiatic Mirror*; (4) *The Government Gazette*; (5) *The Bengal Hurkaru*; (6) *The Oriental Star*; (7) *The Columbian Press Gazette*; (8) *The Morning Post*; (9). *The Calcutta Gazette*. The last two were amalgamated with *The Calcutta Journal*.

which was conducted by an editor in the service of Government and wholly subject to its control : but while the Government interests were thus well protected and taken care of, there was no journal among all the number in which the merchants of the city could find admission for any communications calculated to call in question either the wisdom or the justice of any regulation, order or law affecting their own peculiar interests. It was believed, therefore, that a public journal conducted by an independent gentleman, neither in the service of Government nor under any party control, would afford that medium of free discussion and be greatly advantageous to the mercantile community in particular and salutary even to the Government itself. Accordingly, perceiving it was rather independence than ability that was wanted and believing myself to possess a fair portion of this, I ventured to undertake the task. The capital necessary for the purchase of the copyright of two existing papers * of very low circulation, out of which this new journal was to spring was Rs. 30,000 (£3,000) and this was advanced by 30 gentlemen in sums of Rs. 1,000 each to effect the purchase."

After the above arrangements had been completed, Buckingham drew up a prospectus † of the new paper and applied to the Government for the privilege of circulating it throughout India free of postal charge thus :

To JOHN ADAM, Esq., *Chief Secretary to Government.*

SIR,—Being about to establish a new journal, the extensive circulation of which, will, I presume to hope, be productive

* *The Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post*. The former ceased to exist on 29th September 1818 (No. 1805, Vol. LXIX) for a time.

† The prospectus was published in the last issue of the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 29th September 1818.

of public convenience and utility, and being desirous of submitting a prospectus of the same to the heads of the different departments in the principal stations throughout India, I have to beg that you will solicit for me from the Governor-General in Council, the privilege of being allowed to transmit this prospectus, free of postage, to such stations.

My claim is made on no other foundation than the known disposition of the Government to afford every facility to useful undertakings, and the belief that this will deserve to be so classed, I indulge the hope that an exemption from postage will be granted to me for the first number only, which being to be submitted as a specimen will be distributed gratis.

I have, etc.,

26th September 1818.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

To MR. BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to comply with your application that the first number of the new journal which you are about to establish at this presidency, may be passed to the principal stations throughout India, subject to the Honourable Company's authority, free of postage.

The necessary orders will accordingly be issued to the Postmaster-General.

I have, etc.,

COUNCIL CHAMBER,

C. LUSHINGTON.

26th September 1818.

Secretary to the Government.

On the 2nd October 1818, the *Calcutta Journal* came out first as a bi-weekly paper.* In the first editorial staff, we find the name of J. C. C. Sutherland,† a nephew of the great Orientalist, H. T. Colebrooke.

* Twice a week—on Tuesday and Friday mornings—that is—it used to appear on the days on which the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post* used to appear separately.

† James Charles Colebrooke Sutherland, who had come round from Bombay to Calcutta in a ship commanded by Buckingham, and they then formed a friendship for each other which remained unbroken for life. In 1818 when the *Calcutta*

From the beginning the financial success of the journal became assured as the whole of the mercantile houses * of Calcutta became its patrons. Besides, it possessed so much attraction for the Indian community that in the short space of three months, its returns of profit were sufficient to enable Buckingham to repay the whole of Rs. 30,000 advanced to him to start his journal and leave a surplus beyond that in his possession. Emboldened by the financial success, Buckingham soon arranged to publish his paper four times a week. This arrangement came into operation on the 1st May 1819 from which date the paper used to appear on all week days except Monday and Thursday, at a charge of Rupees eight † a month. Besides, arrangements were made to illustrate the paper. The engravings did not exceed four a month which were charged for separately at 8 annas each.

On the 26th May 1819, an article appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* which became an object of censure from the Government, and the sum and substance of which

Journal was started by Buckingham, Sutherland remained connected with it only for a short time. This was his first connection with the Indian Press, of which afterwards he became a foremost leader. Before 1820 he left the *Calcutta Journal* and became engaged in a different walk of life. But in the beginning of 1823 when Buckingham was deported, Sutherland, waiving all objections, joined the *Calcutta Journal* as reporter and contributor. In November following, when the paper was suppressed, Sutherland was again thrown upon his own resources with the loss of a comfortable salary. He remained for some time in charge of the property of the *Calcutta Journal* establishment, of the sale of which by public auction, he published a very interesting account full of sentiment and feeling. He also helped Dr. William Pitt Muston to get up the *Scotsman in the East* over the ashes of the *Calcutta Journal*.

* There were then many Agency Houses in Calcutta, of them, Messrs. Alexander and Co., Colvins Bazett and Co., Cruttenden and McKillop, Fairlie, Fergusson and Co., Mackintosh and Co., Palmer and Co., were the foremost.

† The price of the *Calcutta Journal* at the outset was a rupee for each copy. To quarterly subscribers paying in advance six rupees a month were charged. The size was large quarto, containing eight pages.

was that the continuance of Mr. Elliot * in office as Governor of Madras was regarded in that presidency as a public calamity. The article having excited the displeasure of the Governor of Madras, where the Press was under a severe censorship, Mr. Elliot complained of it to the Governor-General of Bengal (Lord Hastings) who then, for the first time, made it the subject of remonstrance. The Advocate-General (Mr. Robert Spankie) having been called upon for his opinion as to the advisableness of instituting legal proceedings against Mr. Buckingham, rather discouraged the adoption of this course. The Government of Lord Hastings felt strong objections to exercise its extreme powers by depriving Mr. Buckingham of his licence to remain in India, considering that it was the first offence which had occurred since the removal of the censorship. It was, therefore, deemed sufficient severity to reprove Mr. Buckingham and to warn him of the inevitable consequence of violating the restrictions which had been imposed when the censorship was taken off. Mr. Buckingham expressed contrition for his offence and pledged himself to avoid inserting in his paper objectionable matter in future.

Notwithstanding this slight hitch, the paper prospered exceedingly, and such was the intense desire to possess it, even at the most distant stations, that the largest sacrifices were made by individuals to obtain it. At the time we are speaking of, Indian newspapers were published without being stamped, but all copies sent by the Post Office into the interior were charged with a postage proportionate to the weight and the distance they had to travel. In some instances they were so heavy on the *Calcutta Journal* as to make it cost five or six rupees for a single copy of the

* Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, 1814—1820.

paper, the first cost and postage to a very great distance being included. It having occurred to Mr. Buckingham that this expense must materially contribute to check its circulation at the distant stations, he resolved, if possible, to equalise this charge over all India, by offering the Government a good round sum in lieu of postage and having his papers stamped to go post free. He accordingly had an estimate made of the postage paid by him on the covers despatched from Calcutta (where the postage had always to be paid in advance) and found it amounted to Rs. 30,000 per annum. He accordingly offered the Government an advance upon this sum of about one-fourth, making it about Rs. 40,000 a year, on condition of his papers being franked to all parts of India by the Post-office stamp as "full paid." The offer was accepted by the Government, and this arrangement commenced on the 27th August 1819 and continued till January 1820, when some articles appearing in the *Calcutta Journal* were not agreeable to the Government of Madras, they for the first time, ordered the paper to be stopped at Ganjam, the frontier town or station where the Madras jurisdiction commenced, though the copies were all marked "full paid" at Calcutta. Yet every cover was again charged from Ganjam to all the territories beyond it, and sometimes they reached the distant subscribers charged with four or five rupees per cover, and sometimes they were sent back to Calcutta bearing double postage all the way, thus producing the double injury to Buckingham of cutting off all his subscribers beyond a certain distance, to secure whom was the great object of the large sum of money (Rs. 40,000), and accumulating upon him by every post a large number of papers which either were obliged to be

taken back or their postage charged against him in account. In the bitterness of this disappointment, Buckingham published a notice in his paper addressed "To subscribers under the Madras Presidency," in January 1820, clearly intending to convey the impression that the Government of Fort St. George had taken measures unjust in themselves and originating in improper motives to impede the circulation of that journal. Mr. Buckingham was admonished of the impropriety of his conduct in violating the rules which Government had laid down for the conduct of the Press, particularly after having so lately experienced its indulgence and was warned of the certain consequences of his again incurring its displeasure. He was at the same time required to publish in the *Calcutta Journal* a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of his conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George. On receiving a notification to this effect, Mr. Buckingham submitted two letters to Government, containing a justification of his conduct. In one of these letters, alluding to the answer of the Governor-General to the address of the inhabitants of Madras, he says:— "I conceived that by this solemn and public declaration, the letter of the restrictions of 1818 was virtually abrogated, as it appeared to my erring judgment in common with many others, that sentiments there expressed, and the prohibitions formerly in force were wholly incompatible and could not simultaneously exist." Mr. Buckingham's explanation appearing to a majority in Council* (Mr. John Adam only dissenting) to afford a considerable ground of exculpation, a more modified acknowledgment than what had been before prescribed, was accepted. In concluding the correspondence on this

* Mr. James Stuart, Sir James E. Colebrooke, Bart, and Mr. John Adam.

matter, it was observed in the letter of the Government Secretary to Mr. Buckingham:—"The rules framed for the guidance of the editors of newspapers when they were relieved from the necessity of submitting the papers to the revision of an officer of Government, were in themselves so reasonable and obviously suitable to the circumstances of this Government and to the state of society here, as to warrant the expectation of their general spirit being observed even if they had not been officially prescribed. Independently of other injurious consequences to which an injudiciously or perverted use of the discretion vested in the editors of newspapers may lead, it has a manifest tendency to raise a question as to the expediency of the liberal measures sanctioned by the Government with regard to the Press and to lead to the revival of those restrictions which common prudence on the part of the editors would render altogether unnecessary."

In February 1820, a letter was published in the *Calcutta Journal* complaining of the rate of exchange at which the troops in the Nizam's country were paid. Mr. Buckingham having been called upon for the name of the author, he gave that of Lieutenant J. Smith of the 22nd Madras Light Cavalry, stationed at Jaulnah. This information was communicated to the Resident at Hyderabad, who had drawn the attention of Government to the letter, but it does not appear that any steps were taken in consequence of the communication by the Resident. In November 1820, a letter under the signature of "Emulus" having appeared in the paper, headed "Merit and Interest," and the Government having regarded it as a production of a very offensive and mischievous tendency, desired the opinion of the Advocate-General as to the probable issue of a legal

prosecution if instituted against Mr. Buckingham. The Advocate-General stated his opinion that the letter in question was a libel on the Government and administration of the country, not highly offensive in its terms, but mischievous in its tendency, and encouraged the measure of prosecution. A prosecution was accordingly resolved on. Mr. Buckingham, on hearing of this determination, implored the compassion of Government; but he was informed that Government saw no reason for staying the proceedings which had been commenced against him. Mr. Buckingham having subsequently, however, addressed a letter to Lord Hastings disavowing the opinions expressed in the offensive letter and praying that the prosecution might be abandoned, and this letter having been communicated by his Lordship to the Council of the Government, Mr. Buckingham was informed that the prosecution would be waived, on condition that no opposition should be made by his counsel to the motion for a criminal information against him, and that he should address a letter to the Government comprehending in unequivocal and distinct terms, the professions contained in his letter to Lord Hastings. These conditions having been complied with, the prosecution dropped. In the same month, November 1820, there appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* a letter headed "Military Monopoly" and signed "A Young Officer" the tenor of which was considered highly objectionable. Mr. Buckingham on being applied to, gave up the name of the writer, viz., Lieutenant Edward Fell, 2nd battalion, 10th Regiment of Native Infantry, who was severely reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief.

'In July 1821 there appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* on two days consecutively paragraphs respecting the

circulation, post free, by Government, of the prospectus of a newspaper called *John Bull in the East*.^{*} These paragraphs having attracted the attention of Government, were referred to the Advocate-General for his opinion, whether they contained fit matter for prosecution. But Mr. Spankie did not think it a case in which it would be advisable to institute legal proceedings. In the same month, the Bishop of Calcutta † preferred a complaint to Government founded on an article ‡ which had appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* containing a charge against him of encouraging and upholding the clergy in the neglect of their most solemn duties. Mr. Buckingham having been called upon to state the name of the author replied that the author was unknown to him and that he had been induced to publish the article by a conviction that a temperate and most moderate discussion of the inconveniences likely to result from a want of proper control over military chaplains might be productive of public benefit. He was severely reprimanded for this fresh offence and informed that the commission of any new misdemeanor affecting either the authority of Government or tending to disturb the tranquillity and comfort of the community, would be followed, without any previous discussion, by the annulment of his licence to reside in India, and by an order for his immediately leaving the country. In the letter addressed to Mr.

* *John Bull in the East*, named after Theodore Hook's truculent organ, began to appear as a daily paper from the 1st July 1821. In its introductory address, the new paper proclaimed itself "the supporter of Church and King, the contumier of private scandals the counterpoise of the pernicious influence of other journals." The proprietor was Dr. James Bryce, the Scotch Chaplain, and the first editor was Mr. James Mackenzie. A full history of this paper will be given in the second volume.

† Right Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, 1769-1822.

‡ A letter under the signature of "A Churchman, and the Friend of a Lady on her Death-bed" published on the 10th July 1821.

Buckingham on this occasion is the following remarkable passage : "When certain irksome restraints which had long existed on the Press in Bengal were withdrawn, the prospect was indulged that the diffusion of various information, with the able comments which it would call forth, might be extremely useful to all classes of our countrymen in public employment. The just expectations of Government have not been answered. Whatever advantages have been attained, they have been overbalanced by the mischief of acrimonious discussions spread through the medium of your journal. Complaint upon complaint is constantly harassing Government regarding the impeachment which your loose publications cause to be inferred against individuals." Buckingham sought to defend, in a long letter, the mode in which his journal was conducted with reference to the doctrine laid down in the Governor-General's answer to the Madras address, and setting forth the ruin to which he was exposed, and against which it was utterly impossible for him effectually to guard, by the threatened determination of the Government to send him out of the country, should he again incur its displeasure. But this letter did not produce any change in the sentiments and resolutions of the Government.

In October 1821 Colonel Robinson of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, a gallant and dashing officer, then in Calcutta, wrote a letter in the *Calcutta Journal* under the appropriate title of "Sam-Sobersides" and raised a controversy as to whether the dinners, concerts, balls and other entertainments of Calcutta were well or ill conducted. A writer in a rival paper, under the signature of "Parenthesis," very strongly contended that Colonel Robinson was guilty of great disrespect to Govern-

ment. To this Colonel Robinson made a long reply upon which the Government* started a case of libel against Buckingham. In the course of this trial, there appeared a series of articles in the *Calcutta Journal* which in the opinion of Government, displayed a deliberate design to obstruct the course of justice in the above indictment for libel. The Advocate-General having been applied to for his opinion, pronounced the articles in the highest degree illegal and mischievous, and advised an application to the Supreme Court for a criminal information against the editor of the paper. The criminal information was applied for and refused, one of the judges, Sir Francis Macnaghten, doubting the power of the court to grant an information, and the other two judges being of opinion that it was a case in which it would be more proper to proceed by indictment.† The application of the Advocate-General to the Supreme Court for the criminal information, produced a violent article in the *Calcutta Journal* headed "Freedom of the Indian Press", of which the following is an extract :—

Such is the boon of a free Press in Asia, with which the world has rung for the last three years; and the praise of those who know not what awaited it, is not even yet at an end. Such is the salutary control of public opinion on Supreme Authority and the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.

The words in the latter part of the extract are taken from the Governor-General's answer to the address

* This libel case was started by six Secretaries of the Government, among whom Charles Luwington was one.

† In the course of his remarks on this case, the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East said that they (the Judges) had nothing to do with the liberty of the Press abstractedly. The Government of the country, with the advice and sanction of the authorities at home, had established that liberty, and he considered that a free Press or the liberty of publication without a previous censorship, was calculated to produce much good.

of the inhabitants of Madras in 1819. Mr. John Adam drew attention of his colleagues in Council to this passage as a grossly offensive and personal attack upon the head of the Government, and as tending consequently to weaken his authority and bring his administration into contempt. On this occasion the several members* of Council recorded minutes declaratory of their sentiments ; and those of Mr. John Adam, who opened the discussion, and of the Governor-General are particularly deserving of attention. "That the seeds of much mischief," says Mr. Adam, "have been already sown by the writings of the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* and those also who, to their own disgrace and to the signal failure of their duty to the Government and the Company, have combined to support him in his career of insolence and audacity is, I fear, the case ; and though I trust the evil has not spread so wide as to be beyond correction, I cannot contemplate its continued progress without serious alarm, and the strongest conviction that it is the duty of Government to interfere to check it, by the application of the powers which the law has placed in its hands for its own security, and the welfare of the community over which it presides." Mr. Adam, however, did not advise resorting to the exercise of this power until the result of certain other proceedings against Mr. Buckingham in the Supreme Court should be known, adding, however, that he "never had any confidence in the appeals to a court of law as a means of checking the excesses of the Press." Mr. Adam also described Mr. Buckingham in the same minute as "merely the ostensible organ of a party which was arrayed against the Government, and the peace of the community." "That such a party exists"

* Messrs. John Fendall, James Stuart and John Adam.

he proceeds, "is undoubtedly, though it is difficult to conceive the motives by which its members are influenced. Little will be effected if that combination is not broken, nor is it tolerable that the servants of the Government and men living here under its licence and protection, should band themselves against it and act in declared and systematic defiance of its authority. A more direct reference to the known leaders of this faction is not called for at the present moment; but should it become necessary hereafter, I will not shrink from the duty imposed on me." Further on, he observes : "We must carefully discriminate the effects of such a procedure in England, and in a society and under a Government so peculiarly constituted as that of India. It is too trite and obvious to require remark that what may be wisely and safely treated with neglect there, may produce the most deplorable consequences here." The Governor-General ~~declared~~ in his minute that "he saw as distinctly as Mr. Adam did, the seriously hurtful effects which must be produced among the young officers of the Honourable Company's army and even among many inexperienced Civil Servants, by continued instigation, calculated to excite in them the notion that they, and not the legitimately established members of Government, are the competent and proper judges of what is expedient for the maintenance of the British interests in India. The regulations of the European society in a country peculiarly circumstanced as this is, must be acknowledged by every one as of primary importance towards the security of our tenure; and I fully subscribe to the observation of Mr. Adam, that a class of observations, which, though censurable, are attended with little inconvenience in England, may here cause most dangerous impressions." He did not, therefore, differ from Mr.

Adam in principle, although he was averse to the exercise of the authority with which the Government was entrusted by law, of sending a person like Mr. Buckingham out of the country, unless the infliction of such a penalty was not only rigidly demanded but necessity for it broadly visible." He also admitted the existence of a knot of persons at Calcutta, constituting a little confederacy, of which Mr. Buckingham was the tool, and alluded, in terms of incredulity, to information which he had received that a subscription had been entered into for the purpose of supporting Mr. Buckingham under the pending prosecutions. "Were the fact substantiated," Lord Hastings adds, "I could not but hold such an avowed prejudication of the case in the light of a highly culpable attaint to the administration of justice, and an indefensible disrespect to this Government. With that sentiment regarding the measure, I should certainly feel myself bound to concur in visiting it with the most decisive castigation." Mr. Fendall in his minute observed, that "the general tenour of Mr. Buckingham's publications must have a very baneful effect upon the minds of the dissatisfied and younger part of the service, and which, sooner or later, must be met by its proper punishment." Mr. Stuart, having only lately returned from the Cape, and being imperfectly acquainted with the transaction under discussion, reserved his sentiments until the question might be revived in a more definite shape.

In January 1822, a verdict of acquittal was given by the Judges of the Supreme Court in the above libel case instituted by the Government against Mr. Buckingham. In April following Mr. Buckingham was publishing section by section Sir John Malcolm's "Report on the State of Malwa" which the Government not

wishing to be proceeded with, wrote to express their wish for its being discontinued, and it was discontinued accordingly. On May 17th, 1822, a letter signed "A MILITARY FRIEND" was published in the *Calcutta Journal*, which the Government thought, could not be passed over with any regard to its own dignity or authority or the interests of the public. Mr. John Adam, who was ever watchful on the Press, having brought it to the notice of the Council, Mr. Buckingham was called up to state, for the information of Government, the name, designation and address of the writer. He declared Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson,* commanding His Majesty's 24th Regiment of Foot to be the author of the offensive letter. This information having been obtained, Mr. Adam recorded a minute in which, after animadverting on the mischievous tendency of this and some other articles which had lately appeared in the *Calcutta Journal*, submitted the following for the adoption of the Council Board :—

"That Mr. Buckingham's licence to reside in India be withdrawn, and that he be desired to embark for Europe within a time to be limited."

* Under the power vested in the Governor-General by the provisions of the 33rd Geo. 3 c., 52 s. 47 the following two propositions relating to Lieutenant Colonel Robinson were adopted by the Council :—(1) Resolved that a letter under the signature of "A Military Friend" published in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 17th instant, is a gross insult to the Honourable Company's Government, falsely and slanderously asserting that divers abuses and oppressions were permitted by that Government until they were exposed in the above newspaper, and encouraging the thoughtless to represent grievances through that channel, with all the distortions which inexperience, misapprehension or malignity may prompt, instead of resorting to the legitimate sources of redress where the ground of the complaint would be justly measured ; (2) Resolved, that as the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* has acknowledged Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson, of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, to have written the letter in question and to have sent it to him (the editor) for publication, the Governor-General in Council must deem it inexpedient for the interests of the Honourable Company, that the said Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson unless he can disprove the charge so made against him by the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*,

In this proposition Messrs. Fendall and Bayley* expressed their entire and cordial concurrence, the Governor-General, however, conceiving the punishment proposed to be inflicted on Mr. Buckingham to be too severe for his offence, seeing that he had given up the author of the obnoxious letter and addressed two letters to his Lordship which his Lordship considered to give satisfactory assurance of his better behaviour in future, negatived Mr. Adam's proposition by his single dissentient vote. In August 1822, there appeared in the *India Gazette*, then conducted by Dr. Grant,† a Government servant, a letter, which "appearing to the Governor-General to be of a description highly offensive to his Majesty the King of Candy (Ceylon), Mr. Buckingham was desired not to repeat it with which Mr. Buckingham cheerfully complied.

should be placed in any situation where an important trust may devolve upon him Resolved that the above opinion be communicated to the Commander-in-Chief and his Excellency be requested to act in consonance to it. The Commander-in-Chief caused the Resolution of Government to be communicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, but wishing to observe as much delicacy as possible towards him, sent him a leave of absence for 18 months with the intention that he should precede his regiment to England. He was, however, apprised that the Commander-in-Chief would not permit any hesitation or delay in the fulfilment of what Government have prescribed. Instructions were at the same time sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, his commanding officer, directing him to question Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson upon honour whether he was or was not the author of the obnoxious letter. In the event of Colonel Robinson's declaring that he was not the author, all further proceedings were to be suspended, and the denial was to be reported to head-quarters. On his admitting himself to be the author or declining to answer, he was to be asked whether he meant to act on his leave of absence. In the case of his availing himself of it, he was to be allowed two or three days to prepare for his departure; but in case of evasion or hesitation, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam was directed to order him to quit the cantonment forthwith and to proceed straight to Calcutta, and in case of non-compliance, to arrest him for disobedience. On receiving the communication of the resolution of Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson adores a violent letter to the Chief Secretary, which determined the Commander in Chief to bring the Lieutenant-Colonel to a Court Martial at Bombay whither he had proceeded. From Bombay Colonel Robinson was ordered home when he was dangerously ill. He died on board the ship almost within sight of the Land of Freedom.

* William Butterworth Bayley, Acting Member of the Supreme Council.

† Dr. John Grant, of the E. I. Co's Bengal Medical Service.

The last occasion of complaint and the last warning that Buckingham received arose out of the following circumstance. A discussion had existed for a long time between the editors of the Indian newspapers as to whether the Regulations for the Press contained in the Government Circular were or were not binding in law. Buckingham's opinion always was that they were not ; the best proof of that was that there had never been, and all lawyers admitted there never could be, a legal proceeding against any party for infringing them. They had not been registered in the King's Courts, a formality without which they could no more become law than a Bill carried through both Houses can become an Act of Parliament without receiving the Royal Assent. The only way in which they could be enforced was this : an editor was told, "there are certain rules which we choose to lay down ; if you do not conform to them, we will deprive you of your licence of residence ; and when we have taken this from you, we can send you out of the country, not for breaking any of our rules, but for not having the licence which we have taken away." But Indian-born editors could not be so dealt with ; and when they broke the rules, which they often did, there was no legal process which could be had against them, because the rules themselves had no legal existence. This was the doctrine maintained by Buckingham in opposition to other writers in India, and subsequent events proved that he was right, as those very rules, in the time of Mr. John Adam as Governor-General, were registered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta (King's Court) to give them that power in law which they never possessed in the time of Lord Hastings. Yet for so writing in his paper, he received a severe reproof from the Government in their letter of

the 5th September 1822 in which he was again told that "if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the Statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here, or shall treat with disregard any official injunction, past or future, from Government, whether communicated in terms of command or in the gentle language of intimation, your licence will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India" To this, Buckingham sent a long reply in defence.

Thus it is clear that so long as Lord Hastings remained as Governor-General, Buckingham, though censured frequently, did not lose his licence to reside in India and enjoyed perfect immunity from deportation. But that state of security for him soon came to a close on the resignation* of the Marquess of Hastings on the first day of 1823. Mr. John Adam as Senior Councillor, became Acting Governor-General. Invested with supreme power, he eagerly sought an opportunity, to send Buckingham out of India. And one soon presented itself in the shape of an appointment worth about £600 or 800 a year conferred on Dr. James Bryce, the Scotch Chaplain and proprietor of the *John Bull in the East*, of Clerk of the Committee for supplying the Government offices with stationery. So much importance was attached by the Government of Mr. Adam to this appointment that it was made the subject of a special announcement in the shape of an "Extraordinary Gazette." Thereupon an article bantering in tone appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th February 1823. This is the last straw that broke the camel's

* Marquess of Hastings tendered his resignation of the Governor-Generalship smarting under the censures pronounced upon him by the Court of Directors for his ever-memorable act of rescuing the Nizam of Hyderabad from the clutches of Messrs. W. Palmer Co., Bankers of Hyderabad.

back. Four days after, Mr. Buckingham got the following order from the Government:—

To

MR. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—Referring to the editorial remarks contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th instant and to the communications officially made to you on former occasions, I am directed to apprise you that in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council you have forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government.

2. I am further directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an order passed by Government on the present day by which the licence of the Court of Directors authorising you to proceed to the East Indies is declared to be void from and after the fifteenth (15th) day of April next.

3. You will be pleased to notice that if you should be found in the East Indies from and after that date, you will be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without licence or authority for that purpose and will be sent forthwith to the United Kingdom.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FORT WILLIAM,

W. B. BAYLEY,

12th February 1823. *Chief Secretary to the Government.*

Against this order, there was no appeal. So leaving his paper in the charge of Mr. John Francis Sandys, an Eurasian, as Editor and Messrs. Sandford Arnot and J. C. C. Sutherland as his Assistants and appointing Messrs. John Palmer and George Ballard * his co-partners in the property of the *Calcutta Journal* as his agents, Buckingham embarked from Calcutta on the 1st March 1823†. The paper continued under the new arrangement.

* Chief Partner of Messrs. Alexander and Co., the famous Agency House.

† The day Buckingham was leaving India, a meeting attended by Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wynn, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the

Within a fortnight after Buckingham's deportation, Mr. Adam published in the *Government Gazette* of the 20th March 1823 the following draft of a Rule framed by the Honourable Governor-General in Council to regulate the future publication of newspapers, etc., within the Settlement of Fort William. On the 15th March it was laid before the Supreme Court of Calcutta by Mr. George Money, the Standing Counsel to the Company to be registered when it was publicly read. The Rule is as follows:—

A Rule, Ordinance and Regulation, for the Good Order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, made and framed by the Honourable the Governor-General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the fourteenth of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

Whereas matters tending to bring the Government of this country as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Calcutta for the prevention whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printing and publication within the settlement of Fort William in Bengal, of Newspapers, and of all Magazines, Registers, Pamphlets and other printed books and papers, in any language or character

East India Company and Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet their solicitor, was held at File House to confer on what should be done to put down the freedom of the Press in India, and the issue of it was, that the parties named drew up a Minute, in which they declared that they did not think it necessary to apply to Parliament for any new powers to restrain the Indian Press. Lord Amherst, who was just going out as the new Governor-General in succession to Lord Hastings, was encouraged to proceed to the removal from the country of any offending editor, without any particular degree of delinquency being assigned; this being left entirely to his discretion, and he being assured of the fullest support from the Government at home, as well as of the East India Directors in any measure he might find necessary for the purpose. In the minute of the Secret Committee of the India House on this document, which minute is dated the 4th March 1823, only three days afterwards, the Court concur in thinking that Lord Amherst should have all the support which Government at home could give him to restrain the liberty of the Press in India.

published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government or any political events or transactions whatsoever.

1. Be it therefore Ordained by the Authority of the Governor-General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, at and within the said settlement or factory of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, by and in virtue of and under the authority of a certain Act of Parliament, made and passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An Act for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe," and by a certain other Act of Parliament made and passed in the fortieth year of the reign of his said Majesty King George the Third entitled "An Act for establishing further regulations for the Government of the British territories in India, and the better administration of justice within the same," that fourteen days after the Registry and Publication of this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, with the consent and approbation of the said Supreme Court if the said Supreme Court shall in its discretion approve of and consent to the Registry and Publication of the same, no person or persons shall within the said settlement of Fort William, print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any Newspaper or Magazine, Register, Pamphlet, or other printed book or paper whatsoever in any language or character whatsoever, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government, or any political event or transactions whatsoever, without having obtained a licence for that purpose from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person officiating and acting as such Chief Secretary.

2. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every person applying to the Governor-General in Council for such licence as aforesaid, shall deliver to the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person acting and

officiating as such, an affidavit specifying and setting forth the real and true names, additions, descriptions and places of abode of all and every person or persons, who is or are, intended to be the printer and printers, publisher and publishers, of the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet, or other printed book or paper in the said affidavit named, and of all the proprietors of the same, if the number of such proprietors, exclusive of the printers and publishers, does not exceed two, and in case the same shall exceed such number, then of two of the proprietors resident within the Presidency of Fort William, or places thereto subordinate, who hold the largest shares therein, and the true description of the house or building, wherein any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, is intended to be printed, and likewise the title of such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper.

3. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid that every such affidavit shall be in writing, and signed by the person or persons making the same, and shall be taken without any cost or charge by any Justice of the Peace, acting in and for the town of Calcutta.

4. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that where the persons concerned as printers and publishers of any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, as aforesaid, together with such number of Proprietors as are hereinbefore required to be named in such affidavit as aforesaid, shall not altogether exceed the number of four persons, the Affidavit hereby required shall be sworn and signed by all the said persons who are resident in and within twenty miles of Calcutta; and when the number of such persons shall exceed four the same shall be signed and sworn by four of such persons if resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta, or by so many of them as are so resident.

5. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that an affidavit or affidavits of the like nature and import shall be made, signed and delivered in like manner, as often as any of the Printers, Publishers or Proprietors, named in such affidavit or affidavits shall be changed, or shall change their respective places of abode or their printing house, place, or

office, and as often as the title of such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be changed, and as often as the Governor-General in Council shall deem it expedient to require the same, and that when such further and new affidavit as last aforesaid, shall be so required by the Governor-General in Council, notice thereof, signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall be given to the persons named in the affidavit, to which the said notice relates, as the printers, publishers, or proprietors of the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper in such affidavit named, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered as the place at which the Newspaper, Magazine Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed; and in failure of making such affidavit, in the said several cases aforesaid required, that such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be deemed, and taken to be printed and published without licence.

6. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every licence which shall and may be granted in manner and form aforesaid shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Governor-General in Council, and from and immediately after notice in writing of such recall signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall have been given to the person or persons to whom the said licence or licences shall have been granted; such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the Affidavit last delivered, as the place at which the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, to which such notice shall relate is printed, the said licence or licences shall be considered null and void, and the Newspapers, Magazines, Registers, Pamphlets, printed books or papers to which such licence or licences relate shall be taken and considered as printed and published without licence; and whenever any such licence as aforesaid shall be revoked and recalled notice of such revocation and recall shall be forthwith given in the *Government Gazette* for the time being published in Calcutta

7. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that if any person within the said settlement of Fort William, shall knowingly and willfully print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, or shall knowing and willfully, either as a proprietor thereof, or as agent or servant of such proprietor or otherwise, sell, vend, or deliver out, distribute *or dispose of, or if any bookseller or proprietor, or keeper of any reading room, library, shop, or place of public resort, shall knowingly and willfully, receive, lend, give or supply, for the purpose of perusal or otherwise to any person whatsoever, any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register or Pamphlet or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, such licence as is required by this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation not having been first obtained, or after such licence, if previously obtained, shall have been recalled as aforesaid, such persons shall forfeit for every such offence a sum not exceeding Sicca Rupees four hundred.

8. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that all offences committed and all pecuniary Forfeitures and Penalties incurred under or against this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation, shall and may be heard and adjudged and determined by two or more of the aforesaid Justices of the Peace, who are hereby empowered and authorised to hear and determine the same, and to issue their Summons or Warrant for bringing the Party or Parties complained of before them, and upon his or their appearance or contempt and default, to hear the parties, examine Witnesses, and to give judgment or sentence according as in and by this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation is ordained and directed, and to award and issue out warrants under their hands and seals for the paying of such forfeitures and penalties as may be imposed upon the goods and chattels of the Offender, and to cause sale to be made of the goods and chattels if they shall not be redeemed within six days rendering to the party the overplus if any be, after deducting the amount of such forfeiture or penalty, and the costs and charges attending the levying thereof; and in case sufficient distress shall not be found, and such forfeitures and penalties shall not be forthwith paid, it shall and may be lawful for such Justices of the Peace, and they are hereby authorised and

required by warrant or warrants under their hands and seals to cause such offender or offenders to be committed to the common Gaol of Calcutta, there to remain for any time not exceeding four months, unless such forfeitures and penalties and all reasonable charges shall be sooner paid and satisfied and all the said forfeitures when paid or levied shall be from time to time, paid into the Treasury of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and be employed and disposed of according to the order and directions of His Majesty's said Justices of the Peace at their General Quarter or other Sessions.

9. Provided always and be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid that nothing in this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation contained shall be deemed or taken to extend or apply to any Printed Book or Paper containing only Shipping Intelligence, Advertisements of Sales, Current Prices of commodities, rates of exchange or other intelligence solely of a commercial nature.

J. ADAM,
EDWARD PAGET,
JOHN FENDALL,
JOHN HERBERT HARINGTON,
W. B. BAYLEY,

Chief Secretary to the Government.

On Monday, the 17th March, Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson and Mr. Thomas Turton * made a motion before Sir Francis Macnaghten, then a puisne Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court. The former in addressing the Court said: "I am instructed to state by the principal proprietor † of the *Calcutta Journal*, that he considers that he will be aggrieved if the proposed regulation is registered in this Court, and thereby becomes a law and I have to solicit that he be permitted to be heard by Counsel. I consider that the Court have

* For an account of his life, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 432.

† Of course Mr. Buckingham through his Agents.

full power to grant such application from any subject and will frame my motion accordingly to any suggestions your Lordship may kindly offer." Sir Francis Macnaghten in reply said : " The Court have certainly a right to any such application and I think they ought—I should wish it to be made in open Court, for the public should know the decision as any of them have a right to ask this Court for interpretations of any ordinance. I have not the least objection that the public should know what is my decision on the subject and I shall state it most openly." Accordingly 31st March was fixed for the hearing of the motion against Adam's " Rule, Ordinance and Regulation."

On Monday, 31st March 1823, Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson reminded the Court that this was the day fixed by His Lordship, Sir Francis Macnaghten, for a further hearing of the objections against the Rule of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council and said that in furtherance of his instructions he had to enter a protest against the Rule on the part of Mr. Scott* and Mr. Reed and to present a petition on the subject from certain native inhabitants† of Calcutta. This petition was then put in and read. It was signed by Ram Mohan Roy and six others of the most respectable native inhabitants of Calcutta. Mr. Fergusson then proceeded to argue against the Rule of the Governor-General in a speech replete with eloquence. The learned Counsel began by stating that so convinced were the people of Calcutta of the injurious tendency of this Rule, that he was satisfied had they been aware of it, they would one and all have come forward to petition against it. The learned Counsel insisted upon the

* Most probably printer of the *India Gazette*, of Messrs. Scott & Co.

† See further on for the petition and names of the inhabitants.

right of every individual to petition against everything affecting his right and interests, and observed that there could be no use in that part of the Act which required that twenty days' notice should be given previous to the registry of any Act if that right did not exist. He then contended that this was the most important measure that for the last century, or ever since British law had existed here, that had been brought before the Court. It professed to be for the purpose of regulating the periodical press, but if once a power were granted, for this purpose, no one knows with what it may be followed up. It may afterwards affect works not published periodically, and in the end entirely suppress every kind of publication that did not coincide with the precise views of the Government. The learned Counsel here referred to the preamble of the Rule, after which he continued nearly as follows : If the liberty of freely publishing his sentiments, be the right of every individual, the Government must satisfy everyone of the necessity of an infringement of that liberty. But is it necessary for the Government in this case to do as it has done ? It is incumbent on them to show that the ordinary means are inefficient for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity, before they have recourse to extraordinary ones, of this they ought to have satisfied the Court before they required the registry of an Act so seriously affecting the liberty of the subject as the present.

If a Libel were published in a newspaper, those who brought it before a Jury, deserved the public applause. It has been said that publications have found their way into the papers tending to bring dissatisfaction among the army, but if the public prosecutor had brought this matter before a Jury, he had no doubt but that the Jury would have done their duty according to

the law established in the country. But transmission had been resolved on. Every means ought to have been tried before that dire one. Every man has brought with him from England the right of trial by Jury, and a right to publish without any restraint, his sentiments upon any public question.

The learned Counsel observed that it was not sufficient that it should be expedient to impose restrictions upon the Liberty of the Press ; it was necessary also that they should be legal. In the present instance the power attempted to be exercised, was repugnant to the British Constitution, for the modesty and the moderation of the Indian Press had been exemplary. Nothing had been done by anyone connected with it to bring down upon it this visitation. It was impossible to travel through the country without seeing the native population everywhere satisfied with the Government of the country and indeed they ought to be so, for no doubt could be entertained that the Government did everything to promote their happiness that laid in their power. It was repugnant to the law of the land and the 13th George 3rd only authorised acts according to the law of England and, the 17th only confirmed that power. The Governor-General can make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of England. If this Regulation passes this Court he could see no reason why any offence not definable should not be punished. The authority exercised by the Governor-General on this occasion is no new authority, for by the Charter of George 1st, power was granted to the Governor-General to pass bye-laws and regulations for the Government of the country, but it was necessary that these should not be contrary to the law of England and those passed by the Governor-General in Council were not to have effect until approved of by the Supreme Court

who were to be the judges of the legality of the Rules in question. The Charter of George 2nd gives similar powers to the Company and authorises them to pass laws for the good government of Fort William. Where the law has not provided; they were authorised to institute laws, but even in doing this, nothing must be contrary to the law of England. The law of England abhors the restriction of the Press. Here the learned Counsel read an extract from Blackstone which he observed said that all could be said on the subject: "My Lord," he continued, "I require no more than the words of this great author, for if the words which I have quoted be correct, I contend that the restraint on the Press is most odious to the British law, and I have no hesitation in saying that a censorship would be far preferable for the preservation of good government than the Rule now attempted to be established. Let us only see the extent of the power rested in the hands of the Govenor-General by the Rule. This is unlimited. And what does it publish to the people of Europe and of India? Why that two or three papers published here had the effect of bringing the Government into contempt? This was not the only consequence, for it went the length of saying to every person connected with the periodical press—' you shall not write against Government without its permission.' This is certainly the meaning of it or it has no meaning at all. Let us suppose the effect of such an act at home. What would it be entitled there? What would be the effect of it? If it were to be established there, no *Morning Chronicle* would have existed, and the life of Mr. Perry, one of the most useful in the world, would have gone by without anything beneficial or interesting. But such a law could not exist at home. It was the periodical press which had made the British

Constitution what it is. It was unnecessary to say anything on the good effects of free discussion, when confined within proper bounds, showing proper respect to Government, but not going the length of servility. Nothing can be more absurd than the idea of vesting a power in one individual of saying to another, "You shall say nothing against me." The effect of such a rule must be that nothing will be said of Government except by one side of the question, and papers like the ministerial ones in England alone will exist. What merit can it be to a Government to be spoken well of by papers under its own lash and with that before them which forces them to write in its favour? If this power is to be vested in the Government, we are to be favoured with nothing but Shipping Intelligence, Bills of Sale, Kedgeree Reports, etc. The Government turn round and say, take care, we do not intend to infringe upon you so far as to say that you shall not publish that the Sir David Scott is come from England or the Anne and Mary from the eastward; you may also publish the prices of indigo, rice, dhal, tobacco and Kedgeree, aye kedgeree, my Lord, Kedgeree—but you must not publish public news. Not publish public news! Oh, then we may publish private news I suppose, tittle tattle! which must be very refreshing after the fatigues of the day. You must not publish the victories of the Greeks over the Turks without a licence, lest the Government shall take the part of the Turks. Suppose I publish a work—if I publish the first number—well and good—I may do so, but if I publish a second, I must get a licence. Is this the law of England? No. It is the law of Constantinople or St. Petersburg, but even of France! What has formerly been the course of English law upon such an occasion? Everything but the course pursued upon this occasion. When England

was engaged in the revolutionary war with France, what measures were adopted? They were very salutary ones. The 38th George 3rd enacted that no paper should be published without the name of the publisher and printer and obliging securities to be given for the payment of any fines to the King in case of a prosecution. Every man who put pen to paper is answerable for what he writes, and the public has a right to know who is the author of anything that comes before them. No attempt has been made for a century to impose anything like a censorship upon the British Press or to licence it. By the 39th George 3rd, it was enacted that anyone establishing a Printing Press shall give notice of his having done so to the Clerk of the Peace, and he is then obliged to grant such an individual a licence. He is only amenable to the law for what he publishes. The Court is not prepared to go beyond the law of England. No man has ever yet been found either in the House of Commons or of Peers who recommended to place the Press under such restrictions at home, as this Regulation, if registered, will subject it to here. Even at home, so many attempts have been made to impose restrictions upon the Press that it cannot be supposed that if this Bill were in unison with the law of England, it would not have been thought of there. Everyone exclaims against the inquisitional power of a Court which in England would have established the licensing system and which did so for a short time, but which was condemned by all our constitutional writers. Against this the voice of the immortal Milton was raised who implored the Parliament not to pass that Act which would be a disgrace to the cause for which they had done so much. The learned Counsel contended that even this inquisitional Act did not

infringe so much upon the liberty of the Press as the Rule which it was attempted to pass to-day. When Europe was agitated by the works of Voltaire—priests, monks, the profligate courtiers, all entered into a crusade against them, but the short way would have been to have said that they should not have been published without the licence of the King of France, but this was never thought of. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was limited to one year, and if not then renewed, it returned to its old course again. But here was a Rule, endeavoured to be established for an indefinite time, which most materially affected the rights of the public. With the exception of the Rule which was now attempted to be registered, nothing had ever been attempted to prevent a man from publishing what the Constitution had given him a right to do, for the last century. Having examined all the Acts of Parliament which had passed for the last 120 years, connected with the Press, the learned Counsel observed that he had found nothing similar to the present proceeding. Something like it had been attempted in France, which was the origin of this, but that was nothing like this in severity. The learned Counsel trusted that those who executed the law would not suffer the Constitution to be thus infringed upon. But the Act in France did not refer to journals, published before the 1st January 1822, the date of the Act. But after this period all others were obliged to be licensed by the King. The editors of the journals of France, that devoted country, may be suspended or suppressed. The effects of the present Rule served only to destroy the publication of any paper; for if the proprietors were to be obliged to procure a fresh Editor and a fresh Printer every day, what else would be the effect of it? What! Shall the Government have it in its power to say that

no paper shall be circulated without its licence. But this is not the utmost extent to which this power may be stretched, they may grant a licence to one paper and withhold it from another; and thus have it in their power to ruin the parties engaged in periodical publication and entirely to destroy their hopes. Mr Buckingham had been an instance of this. When he had by the utmost perseverance, and the most splendid talents established himself in this country, the Government exercised the power with which they were vested and sent him away obliging him to leave his property behind him. The Rule in question put the property of the subject too much at the mercy of the Government, and although I am convinced from my personal knowledge of the members of it, that the present Government is very unlikely to abuse the power, yet no one can answer for the acts of a future Government. By the 13th of George 3rd, power is given to the Company to make regulations for the administration of justice, but these are all referred to the 33rd of the same reign which does not give power to them to make laws or create misdemeanours. If this power existed, the power also exists in the hands of the Government to transfer the power of this Court to the Justices of the Peace. By the 53rd of George 3rd, persons selling arrack and spirituous liquors are obliged to take out a licence, and if like this, the Government has a power to licence newspapers, they have also a right to licence the houses of agency. A person landing in this country with permission to trade, has a right to carry on a fair, free and unincumbered trade. The Governor-General has it not in his power to make that crime which is not crime nor to change the English law in any particular. In England, it is quite sufficient that an affidavit should

be made as to the proprietor of a newspaper, and if such affidavit be found to be false, the person making it might be persecuted for perjury. But here it was not so, because the Governor-General in Council had no right to make such a regulation. If there be licensed journals here, there will be unlicensed ones in Serampur, and what will the Government do then? Will they establish a *cordon sanitaire* here to prevent their introduction into Calcutta, as France has done to prevent the introduction of moral poison from Spain. These papers will be purchased with more avidity on the very account of their prohibition. It was true that a power did exist that rendered British subjects responsible to the Mofussil Courts, but there was none that could prevent them from publishing newspapers on the other side of the Mahratta ditch. In Bhabanipur, for instance, anyone could publish a Newspaper, and introduce it into Calcutta in defiance of any existing law. The learned Counsel then observed that this rule was inexpedient, because unnecessary. The only unpleasant feeling introduced into society by the newspapers of Calcutta was not so much occasioned by the attacks they made upon Government, as by those which the editors made upon each other, but let them tear each other to pieces, said the learned Counsel, this has only the happy effect of sending me to sleep. The loyalty of the native population was undoubted, but it could not be answered for, if regulation were to succeed regulation until every vestige of the British Constitution were lost. Mr. Fergusson then concluded a most eloquent and animated speech, by observing that he could not quit the subject without expressing his gratitude to Mr. Turton for the able assistance he had received from him. That gentleman, he observed, had been an honour to the bar

since his arrival in this country, and he trusted that he would continue to be so, and he entreated the attention of the Court to the observations which he would offer.

A burst of applause followed the speech of Mr. Fergusson upon which Sir Francis Macnaghten said that he would commit any man to jail who should repeat it, until he knew how to behave better in a Court of Justice.

MR. FERGUSSON : My Lord, I am sure that no friend to the liberty of the Press would have committed himself in that manner.

SIR F. MACNAGHTEN : Certainly not, certainly not.

MR. TURTON then commenced by observing that he had no pretensions to be so eloquent or so entertaining as his learned friend who had just concluded ; but it was his duty to enquire as a dry matter of law, whether the Government had a right to pass such a decree, and whether such a decree were repugnant to the law of England. He was speaking in favour of a right which was the pride of a free country, and which was calculated to consolidate every class of the natives of this.

The first power granted to the Company was given to them to be exercised in the island of Bombay according to the forms and customs established "in our realm of England." The 13th George 3rd invests this power in the Company, and authorises them to make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of the realm and states that certain abuses in the administration of justice required correction. The object of this was to take care that all ranks should have the same rights, immunities and liberties as the people of England, and among others the liberty of the Press. It may not be out of the way to advert here to the first introduction of printing into England, which took place during the wars of York and

Lancaster at the expense of the King. From that time to this no one has dared to utter a word in favour of the application of printing to the furtherance of any particular views of the Sovereign. During the arbitrary reign of Henry VIII, the power was claimed of licensing the Press which will not be wondered at, when the imperious character of that Sovereign is considered. This claim was occasionally urged down to the time of the Commonwealth. In the reign of Charles II an Act of Parliament first found its way into the records for this purpose. This was not then considered as a prerogative of the King but as an object of public care. Even when troubled with the long civil war, it appears that it was not claimed as a prerogative. The effect of this Act was that everything was to be submitted to the licenser, but it did not prevent a printer from carrying on his business but prevented dangerous subjects from getting abroad. In this case, the punishment was not in the hands of the licenser, but in those of a Jury, and was suspension for three months, and when again convicted, then only was the full power of this Act to be exercised. This Act was continued by James II, the veriest tyrant who ever reigned in England and who although beloved in private life, was expelled from the throne on account of his tyranny. Even he only continued it for four years. It was removed again in 1692 for one year, at the time when the expedition from La Hague was preparing to invade the country. The learned Counsel here referred to the opinion of De Lolme on a free Press. The power of the Chief Secretary is to control those actions which cannot be tied down by any precise rule of law. What! Is there no constitutional check for the abuse of the liberty of the Press, but are the Government to say "No: I insist upon the power of crushing you and

destroying your property." I believe the Government are anxious to secure a power which they could not secure at home, and that too, from this motive that when anything comes home to our own bosoms, we feel ourselves very deeply interested. Sir Thomas More, in his description of Utopia seems to have entertained a notion of the same kind with the Government of this country, for he makes it, by the laws of his imaginary country, a crime worthy of death even to speak of the Government. Every man at home has a right to present a petition to the King or Parliament, and not only that, but to bring his grievances before the public in any way he likes.

I do not believe that the natives of this country have any desire to return to their old form of Government, because I believe that the interests and feelings of men alway go hand in hand. Arbitrary power may keep the people quiet, but it is not the quiet of composure, but of the charnel house, and the object of stopping the pens and presses of individuals is to prevent their enquiring into those corruptions which ought to be exposed to public scrutiny. Government may be as pure as unsullied snow, but its ministers may not be so, and can it be supposed that in this extensive country, there is no corruption, no abuse, which ought to be laid before the public? Let every man be answerable for what he writes and publishes. I have no objection to this; but I have an objection to that being introduced here which is in utter violation of the rights of British subjects. I hope that it is not because they fear examination, that the Government have enforced this regulation, and this is the very reason why they should not press the Court to register it. I believe that they have been misled, and that they have been taught to believe that a state of things exists in this country which does not exist.

Is it the recommendation of the British Parliament that the natives of this country should be kept without the means of obtaining knowledge? No! That very Parliament in the Act of 53rd George 3rd says differently. Look at the conduct of the Government of any of those countries where despotic power has lately been overthrown and their restrictions on the Press have been done away with. Another authority I will quote and that too, of a man whom I know and who is not very nice in his principles of liberty any more than De Lolme and who is indeed called in the part of the country from which I came, a rank Tory. But let us hear what a rank Tory says upon the subject. Here the learned Counsel read a quotation from the works of Mr. Holt connected with the liberty of the Press. If this Rule has been published for the purpose pretended, I would ask, has the Government been sleeping that it did not enact it before? I cannot think that the executive part of the Government has been so careless, and they are now anxious to bring this matter about that they may prevent their own conduct from being brought before the public—a right which I hope will exist wherever I draw breath. I sincerely believe that every Government which is administered properly is more likely to gain than lose by free discussion. It is a Rule of the Constitution that the liberty of the subject shall not be abridged, repealed or infringed, without sufficient cause being shown for it. The inquisition has no longer the power to control the Press in Spain or Portugal, and shall it be received into a colony or province, I think I may call it, of the British Empire, after being expelled from these countries? It is pretended that the executive power here shall be independent of this Court. If they can do this in one case, why can they not do so in another? Why did they not

institute the Acts of the 53rd George 3rd? Why not pass the Acts for the better regulation of Calcutta with regard to the dealers in spirituous liquors? On the 24th December 1783 a Rule for restricting the sale of arrack and other spirituous liquors were refused to be registered. This was because it was wished to restrict the sale of these articles to a certain number of shops, which, no doubt all of them, supplied the Government. So it is with us, the Government do not come to our shops, but to the one that is on the opposite side of the way. Mr. Turton then concluded a speech highly distinguished for legal knowledge and deep research.

SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN in delivering judgment said that when application had been made to him to hear Counsel against registering the Rule, Ordinance and Regulation in question, he had not hesitated for a moment in complying with the request. He allowed that it certainly was a new proceeding, but for himself he was anxious that every part of his conduct respecting the measure should be publicly known and he would feel ashamed of having done any act if he had not been ever desirous that all the world should know of his having listened to every thing that could be urged against it. He had nothing to conceal and now rejoiced at having all parties concerned or all who thought themselves concerned, a full opportunity of coming forward and of having everything advanced that could be urged against the Regulation proposed. It was a great satisfaction to him that the question had been so fully and so ably argued that he felt certain that every argument had been brought forward that could possibly be furnished by ingenuity or research. He observed that he should be acting the part of an impostor—and he hoped inconsistently with his own character—if he

intimated that because the parties might still have an appeal from his decision that they could not therefore be injured by it. He fully admitted, if the Regulation was one which ought not to pass, that the parties to be affected by it would have much to complain of by this Act, inasmuch as he was to make it immediately operate—that the parties would be subject to it in the meantime and that their chance of redress must at all events be distant.

There was no one, his Lordship declared, more desirous than he was that every thing he had to do with the present measure should be thoroughly known and understood. Formerly the Government and the Supreme Court had been in the habit of communicating with each other on the subject of proposed Regulations. That upon this occasion he had declined holding any such communication. That he had been twice applied to and has as often declared that he would not be a party to it or even looked at it, before it had passed the Council. He was again asked to peruse it after it had actually got the signatures of the Members of Government. That reasons had been urged, which convinced him he ought not to refuse his assent. That he therefore did see the document after it had been finally settled, but before it had gone through the form of being passed by the Council. That it appeared to him as if there had been an unintentional omission, and as if it left persons open to penalties which they might not have wilfully incurred—that he had suggested this, stating at the same time that in doing so he did not conceive he was violating the resolution he had entered into—that his suggestion was adopted, and the objection removed by an introduction of six words—that he then declared it should have his sanction and

that he would do it because he did not think it repugnant to the laws of England. At this time he of course could not foresee that any cause was to be shown against it, and when it came to his knowledge that it was to be opposed he held himself at perfect liberty to act according to the judgment he might form after he had heard the argument. His Lordship here stated that he had spoken more of himself than he wished to do, but that he had not done so with a view of getting any share of praise. He disclaimed all right to it. He had no claim to any share of the credit which perhaps some persons might think belonged to the Regulation, and those who are disposed to disapprove of it had him alone to blame. He might if he pleased prevent its passing into a Law, and he declared himself to be the only person who ought to be blamed for giving it effect. *Qui non prohibit cum prohibitere possit iubet.*

Thus, on the one hand, he was not entitled to any degree of credit, and on the other, he desired and deserved to have all the animadversions which the Regulation might produce, cast upon him and upon him alone. He said he believed (and it was a great gratification to him to believe it) that there was not upon the face of the earth a place in which there was more real and practical Liberty than was at this moment existing in the city of Calcutta. He believed there was no place in which industry was more free in its exercise or better secured in the enjoyment of its acquisitions. That there was no place where it was likely to be so effectually aided, if it had any thing like a claim to assistance. He said it was many years since he had first come here, and not a few since he had last arrived. That he had never heard of any individual who could justly complain of the conduct of the Government. That he

believed a more mild, lenient, or indulgent one never existed ; and for himself he ventured to say if any act of tyranny or oppression was brought to his notice in any way, that he would most earnestly join in resistance to it by all the means that were not forbidden by law—that he would remonstrate and petition, and could not believe that redress would be denied or that checks would not be applied which might effectually prevent a recurrence of the evils complained of. He avowed his belief, however, that no benefit would be derived and thought no benefit ought to be derived from disrespect to Government ; and as no grievance in reality existed, he thought the stability of a Government under which such advantages were enjoyed, never ought to be endangered by mere speculative discussions, which certainly very few of the community could derive benefit from—and those few, perhaps, not most worthy of consideration. Where, he would ask, are the people more substantially independent to be found ? There is no place where men can declare and assert their rights with more fearlessness and security. Everything which it is of importance to maintain may be maintained and asserted without any fear of the consequences ; and a Government under which so much is enjoyed, would not, he hoped, be endangered for the gratification of a few who very possibly wish to signalise themselves by the discussion of theories that no man has any real interest in and which cannot be supported consistently with the authority we live under, and by which we are so effectually protected.

His Lordship continued : The fallacy consisted in affirming that this was a free country, and he wondered how men could be so deceived or could have so deceived themselves. He had never seen or heard of either text or

comment that could lead him to believe the right of Englishmen here, were at all like the rights of Englishmen in their own country. He would, he said, speak his sentiments in the defiance of any man's resentment, and he knew it was idiocy to talk of men having a control over Government in a country in which they lived merely by sufferance; in which they had no right to be at all; and from which they might by law be removed at pleasure. He declared that friend as he was to Liberty, he, like every other Briton, had come here by choice, knowing or having been supposed to know that it is not a free country. He was happy, he said, in enjoying and seeing every one in enjoyment of practical freedom in its fullest extent. For such benefits it was no great sacrifice to refrain from assaults upon the Government; we should make but a bad exchange if we gave up solid advantages for the indulgence of a few in their gains or caprices; and if we cannot have all, he hoped we should make a judicious selection. He hoped that the Government would not, on account of the misconduct of a few, be compelled to adopt measures of severity by which all might be affected. We have all in possession that can be desired, and he hoped the loss of it would not be hazarded for something of which we have no distinct idea—or if we brought ourselves to have a just one, we must confess that it existed in enriching the necessitous who had nothing but their own gains in view, or in gratifying the vanity of system-mongers or the malignancy of some, even of a worse description. He said, however, that if the happy state of this country was to be altered, he hoped it would be effected by constitutional means and that we should not be forced into a change by the efforts of the Press. Let the Legislature give us a Free Press,

—to that he had no objection. He declared that he never would, because he never could, object to the extension of freedom, but that with respect to the extension of it to this country, there had been many objections by many wise men. Sir William Jones, who was as enthusiastic as any man ever was in the cause of liberty, declared that he would not preach his doctrines to the Indians and in a letter which appears to have been strictly confidential, talking of his own well-known dialogue, he says "I perfectly agree,—(and no man of sound intellect can disagree) that such a system is wholly inapplicable to this country ; and if liberty could be forced upon them by Britain, it would make them as miserable as the cruelest despotism. His Lordship declared that he did not give those as his own sentiments or profess to concur in them. In fact he had not formed any opinion upon the subject, and he would content himself as every man must do, with the laws as they are. He would repeat, however, that it was no less than absurd to talk of the existence of a Free Press, where there is no Constitution. If the Legislature pleased to extend the Constitution of England to India, it might do so. Hitherto such a measure had not been deemed expedient, and at present a Free Press was certainly out of its place. It might follow, but it could not precede a Free Constitution. Whatever form of Government it might please the Legislature to give us, he said it was his most ardent wish that we might be left to as much practical liberty as we at present enjoyed. Again he declared himself the decided enemy of tyranny and oppression in all their shapes, and if any one could show him that he had either to complain of, he would go as far along with him as any other man would dare to go towards redress. But he would contend against the soundness

of that principle which went to the abolition of power or denied the propriety of its existence because it might possibly be abused. All power, he said, was liable to abuse; but every man who possessed it was interested even for his own sake, in using it with moderation. Besides no man could act in disregard to the interests of others with impunity. In our Governments, there was no power conferred without responsibility; and it was not too much to say, if those who possessed it did not act justly and humanely for the sake of others, that it was their interest to do so for the sake of themselves. His Lordship declared he believed there were few men that heard him who had less intercourse with the Government or with any of its members than himself. With most of them he had long been acquainted, and from his own knowledge as well as the characters which they were known to bear, he believed them to be incapable of abusing any authority with which they might be invested. The Government had full powers not only by one Act of Parliament, but that one confirmed and enlarged as to its sanction to frame Rules, Ordinances and Regulations for the good order and civil government of the town of Calcutta. That if this was not a case in which the enactment of a Regulation was proper, he was at a loss to conceive how any Regulation could be justified by its propriety. He went further and declared some such one to be in his opinion absolutely necessary. It could not be a Law until it should be registered in that Court with that Court's approbation. He could not say that this was a Regulation of which he approved in the largest sense of the word, for it is not such a one as he himself would have dictated. He thought it inartificially framed, and he much doubted if it would be found to answer the

purpose which its framers had in view. It might, however, if proved to be defective, be amended; but it was his wish, and he was not without hope, that the Press would be so conducted in future as to render anything further unnecessary. This Regulation went merely to one point—to secure the Government against insult from the Press—to prevent those who might have the means of establishing a printing office, from bringing the Government into hatred and contempt. In such a Government he believed such a protection to be absolutely indispensable, and it was therefore that he approved of the Regulation, which purports to be calculated for the attainment of that end. He declared that he cared not where his conduct was to be canvassed, that he might be desirous of deprecating misrepresentation, but that he would not be deterred from speaking his mind by an apprehension even of that. He felt that he was doing his duty to this country and to his own and if he was to be frightened out of his course, he must be subject to some sensations of fear with which he had hitherto been unacquainted.

Where, he asked, is the law of England to which this Regulation is repugnant? He knew many to which it is conformable, but none to which it is repugnant. The very restraints upon our own countrymen here, are sufficient to prove that such a Regulation as the present, is one which might have been established by the Legislature when it empowered us to enact Regulations; unless indeed it is to be presumed that the Legislature, well seeing the necessity of protecting this Government with power to be exercised in the most summary manner over British subjects, was willing to lay it open to the assaults of every other description of people. To what purpose, he asked, should the

Legislature have empowered this Government to send every British subject out of the country who might be supposed to have misconducted himself, if those who were certainly not higher in the contemplation of Parliament, might resist and insult the authorities with comparative impunity ; it never could have been intended to compliment men who are not British subjects with distinctions and privileges which are denied to those who are. His Lordship knew many gentlemen of the description to which he alluded, that they were highly meritorious and respectable, but he thought they might be contented with standing on the footing of British subjects, and that he did not think it their interest to lay claim to superior immunities. He had not, he said, the pleasure of being personally known to the present Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, but had heard his character from men who knew him well, and men who were qualified to judge of his merits, and that everything he had heard of him was in his favour ; but it was his opinion that the name of that gentleman had been used in such a manner, as a Government like this could not possibly endure. If he had been a British subject, and committed an offence against the British Government to-day, he might be ordered to depart from the country to-morrow. Yet what is the insolent boast ? That he is free from all control of the Government and amenable to this Court alone. That is, that he may print and publish anything however seditious, and destructive of this Government's authority ; that he may continue such publications at pleasure, and that they cannot even be questioned until the next Sessions which will be in June. And although a Bill of Indictment may be found against him, he may perhaps traverse over until October, giving him all the intermediate time

to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, and to hold it at open defiance. There is no man in the use of his reason who can believe that the Legislature intended to secure the Government against assaults from British subjects and lay it open at the same time to the outrages of men who cannot be supposed to have the interests of England so much at heart as British subjects have. What, he asked, have we witnessed? The Government had thought proper to order Mr. Buckingham (the late Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*) to be transported to his own country. He (Sir Francis) did not think himself at liberty to enter at all into the merits of that proceeding. Sitting where he sat, it would be highly improper in him to give an opinion of any sort upon the question. It may be at least assumed that the order, in the opinion of Government, was proper. And what was the consequence? An immediate proclamation of defiance;—a proclamation that the paper should be continued upon its former plan and in its former principles, because the Editor to be appointed would not be within reach of the Government's immediate authority. Nay—they went further and announced the folly and weakness of the Government, in having removed Mr. Buckingham from his office and in not having so much sagacity as to discover that another editor might be appointed who would be free from their control. That they had aggravated the evil of which they complained, by subjecting themselves to a greater annoyance in this country and by sending Mr. Buckingham to another, where he could be a more formidable opponent; and they had thus, instead of being exposed to one battery, placed themselves between two fires. This, he believed, was the phrase which the *Calcutta Journal* was pleased to adopt, and he

believed, he had fairly given the sense of the Manifest. He asked if any Government ought to submit to such insolence and outrage, or if such a one as this could be co-existent with such a press ? He declared if the Government had been in his hands that he would have thought himself justified in disregarding forms and considered it his duty to subdue such audacity, if he had power sufficient to effect it. He believed, he said, that many had thought the passiveness of Government before this occasion culpable. For his own part he could hardly bring himself to think leniency culpable ; but he wondered that a single *Calcutta Journal*, published as many of them were, with a seeming desire of subverting this Government's authority, had ever been suffered to pass the precincts of Calcutta by the Government dawk.

He declared that he considered this insult to Government sufficient in itself to justify some Regulation and to prove that the Law as it stood was not sufficient to protect authority from insult. His Lordship would again ask if any man could believe that the Legislature meant to secure the Government against any attempt which could be made upon it by our own countrymen and to lay it open to the assaults of every one who happened to be born in India—everyone circumstanced as the present Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* is ? He believed, he said, that none who maintained such a principle ever could have looked forward to its extent. He said he spoke advisedly and with great deliberation, but he protested most solemnly against intending offence. He again admitted the respectability of those who formed so large a class of this Community (the more respectable they were they might become the more dangerous), but he said their claim depended upon the locality of their birth under particular circumstances and upon nothing else. This he was

confident no man could deny and he asserted in the most distinct terms, well knowing he could not be contradicted that there was not a sircar or a bearer, a coolie or *mether* in the streets of Calcutta who might not claim similar exemptions upon the very same principle ; and yet he believed if such persons set themselves forward in hostility to Government few would be found to say that they ought not to be restrained by Regulation if the laws in existence were inadequate to the purpose of restraint. As to depriving men of their property his Lordship declared himself unable to discover how this Regulation could have any such effect. He believed it was the intention of Government to license every press at present established ; that he would think it unjust and unreasonable not to do so. If this was not done, he could not but consider this as an *ex post facto* law, and upon that ground he would withhold his concurrence, that he desired to have it understood he would sanction it, believing it was not to have a retrospective operation. That he believed the Government neither wished or intended it to operate retrospectively ; yet if any alarm was felt upon that account, he had said enough to show that it was groundless. He desired if any persons concerned in an established press had any fears upon the subject, that they might apply to him and that he would suspend the registry of their Regulation until their licenses were granted. How long they were to continue would depend upon their own conduct. He did not feel the declaration he had now made to be necessary, but he wished to quiet or to prevent all apprehensions on the subject.

As to the property of those who may have speculated upon profits to be derived from an abuse of the Government, it stood upon a very different footing.

The Government is no guarantee to such an adventure.
It may truly say :—

Non haec in foedera veni.

The Government is free to act as it may think proper ; but he hoped if there is anybody concerned in such a fund, that he will not be suffered to benefit by his speculation. If, like other funds, it is to rise as the state in hostility is reduced, and to advance upon every defeat of the enemy,—the Government being that enemy—he trusted it would not be long before we saw an end of such a stock and of such a stock jobbing. Is this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation repugnant to the Laws of the Realm ? He protested once more that he did not know the Law to which it was repugnant. The Law by which this country is governed may be said by some to be repugnant to the Laws of the Realm. He held that the Law by which this country is governed, is the law of England ; and he did not very clearly see how a Regulation, absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a Government so constituted, could be said to be repugnant to the Laws of England, provided it kept within the penalties which this Government and this Court are empowered by Act of Parliament to impose. Being authorised to make Regulations for the good order and civil government of the town of Calcutta, the authority, he said, may well be presumed to have been given with reference to that species of Government which had been established by Law. But he did not intend to rely upon any such distinction. He would ask if it was repugnant to the laws of England to prevent the Government from being brought into contempt and hatred? Or is there anything in a newspaper press which protects it against restraint? There are many Acts of Parliament tending to keep it under special control. Indeed what

is called the fettering of the English Press is a topic of popular clamour. A few instances only out of many need be mentioned. If any man shall have a press not registered and not having received a certificate of registry, a Magistrate may issue his warrant, ordering the house of the suspected unregistered printer to be broken into in the day time ; and the constable or other person authorised by the warrant, may seize and carry away all presses, types, and printed papers found in the premises. By another Act, no man shall establish a periodical publication until he shall have given a bond, with two or more sufficient sureties for £300 if within twenty miles of London, and £200 elsewhere in the United Kingdom, conditioned for the payment of such fine as may be adjudged against him by reason of conviction. There are numberless other anecdotes and restrictions, which he would not say directly amounted to licensing, although perhaps there was no great difference in licensing terms and excluding a great majority from a privilege. In England there is not perhaps one man in a thousand who can comply with the terms prescribed—the remainder have the privilege upon compliance and certainly without the form of a license. In answer to what has been said relating to the Magistrate's jurisdiction, it may be observed that the penalties imposed by the English Acts are recoverable by the authority of Magistrates.

But is there any Law of England to which the Regulation is repugnant ? There is not any (Sir Francis said) that he knew of exempting the trade of the printers from such enactments as many other trades and professions are subject to. He said, he thought, barristers were licensed—that they were at last admitted by authority to practise at the Bar, although their admission might be refused. The clergy were licensed

—attorneys were licensed and he might mention many other cases of those who cannot practise without license, whose stations in life and rank in society are at least on a footing with printers. How many trades are there which cannot be carried on without a license and a revocable license? Ale-house keepers, tavern-keepers, post-horse keepers, hackney-coach keepers, vendors of various articles which it would be tiresome and to no purpose to mention. If it appeared, indeed, that newspaper printers were declared to be exempted from license under every circumstance, it might then become a question (if such exemption was not declared to be operative in this country) how far the nature of this Government and an emergent case, might justify it here. If this Regulation is not justified, none ever was or ever can be, justified by the Act of Parliament. He again declared his belief and his perfect assurance that the authority given to the Government by this Regulation, would not be abused, and he considered it to be absolutely necessary. He should be sorry, indeed, if authority could be abused with impunity. It behoves those who are entrusted with it to act circumspectly, and with moderation. He would, he said, order this Regulation to be registered, with the reservation he had already particularly mentioned. He said he had perhaps better be silent than mention what he was about to state. He trusted there would be no occasion, for a further Regulation, but he thought nobody could complain of the severity of this. He did not give an opinion; but from the spirit in which penal enactments are construed in Courts of Justice, he conceived it might be a matter of doubt, whether or not more than one penalty could be recovered, although there were repeated offences under this Regulation. With that,

however, he had no concern at present. He then desired that the Regulation might be registered in due time, unless he gave future directions to the contrary."

The petition presented to the Supreme Court against the registering of Adam's Regulation by the native inhabitants of Calcutta runs as follows :—

To The Honourable SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN, sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

MY LORD,—In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council regarding the publication of periodical works, your memorialists consider themselves called upon, with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship, various proofs given by the Natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to and unlimited confidence in the British Government of India, which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of society in this country, being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above Rule and Ordinance.

First, your Lordship is well aware, that the Natives of Calcutta and its vicinity, have voluntarily entrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith, and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British power itself ; while, on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive rulers.

Secondly, placing entire reliance on the promises made by the British Government at the time of the perpetual settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the landholders have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase their produce in general very considerably ; whereas,

prior to that period and under former Governments, their fore-fathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands,—a pernicious practice which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government and reduced their families to poverty.

Thirdly.—During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known, that the great body of Natives of wealth and respectability as well as the Landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success their own happiness and prosperity depended.

Fourthly.—It is manifest as the light of the day, that the general subjects of observation and the constant and the familiar topic of discourse among the Hindu Community of Bengal are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of Government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former Rulers.

Under these circumstances, your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction that whoever charges the Natives of this country with disloyalty or insinuates aught to the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments of its inhabitants as above stated, or, on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting

the people and misleading the Government both here and in England for unworthy purposes of his own.

Your Memorialists must confess, that these feelings of loyalty and attachment of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition by the establishment of Colleges, Schools and other beneficial institutions in this city, among which the erection of a British Court of Judicature for the more effectual administration of Justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

A proof of the Natives of India being more and more attached to the British Rule in proportion as they experience from it the blessing of just and liberal treatment is, that the inhabitants of Calcutta, who enjoy in many respects very superior privileges to those of their fellow subjects in other parts of the country, are known to be in like measure more warmly devoted to the existing Government; nor is it all wonderful they should in loyalty be not at all inferior to British-born subjects, since they feel assured of the possession of the same civil and religious liberty, which is enjoyed in England, without being subjected to such heavy taxation as presses upon the people there.

Hence the population of Calcutta as well as the value of land in this City, have rapidly increased of late years, notwithstanding the high rents of houses and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country as well as the inhabitants being subjected to additional taxes and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suits before the Supreme Court.

Your Lordship may have learned from the works of the Christian Missionaries and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the Natives of Calcutta, numerous Publications have been circulated in the Bengalee Language, which, by introducing free discussion among the Natives and inducing them to reflect and enquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorate their condition. This desirable object has been

chiefly promoted by the establishment of four Native Newspapers, two in the Bengalee and two in the Persian Languages published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English Newspapers or other channels.

Your Memorialists are unable to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony and good order of society that has arisen from the English Press, the influence of which must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly ; but they are quite confident, that the publications in the Native Languages, whether in the shape of a Newspaper or any other work, have none of them been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved, as far as can be ascertained by the strictest enquiry, in the slightest degree injurious, which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most respectable English Missionary works. So far from obtruding upon the Government groundless representations, Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While Your Memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of Newspapers in the cities and districts under special patronage and protection of Government that they might furnish the Supreme Authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of Judicial proceedings,—they have the misfortune to observe, that on the contrary, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has lately promulgated a Rule and Ordinance imposing severe restraints on the Press and prohibiting all Periodical Publications even at the Presidency and in the

Native Languages, unless sanctioned by a License from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained anything of an unsuitable character.

Those natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this Rule and Ordinance shall have been carried into execution, Your Memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe, that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. And the same cause will also prevent those natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British nation, from communicating to their fellow-subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of Government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just Ruler is that it will also preclude the natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of their extensive country, and it will also preclude the Natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their Gracious Sovereign in England and his Council, the real condition of His Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions and the treatment they experience from the local Government. Since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translation from the Native publications inserted in the English newspapers printed here and sent to Europe or by the English publications which the

Natives themselves had in contemplation to establish before this Rule and Ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the establishment of the British Power, a right which they are not and cannot be charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting, that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British nation, or that the King of England and his Lords and Commons are their legislators and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your Memorialists are persuaded, that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their Rulers will derive the greater advantages from them, since, by reference to History, it is found that was but a shortsighted policy, which did not ultimately answer the purposes of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their Rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequence; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under good government from which they experience just and liberal treatment must become the more attached to it in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessing they enjoy under its Rule.

Every good Ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established Law of the Land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found

guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government which are effectually guarded by the same Law to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Your Memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this memorial into Your gracious consideration ; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance, to permit the Natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence, they are not aware of having done any thing to forfeit.

CHANDER COOMAR TAGORE, DWARKA NAUTH TAGORE,
RAM MOHAN ROY, HUR CHUNDER GHOSE, GOWREE CHURN
BONNERJEE, PROSUNNU COOMAR TAGORE.

S. C. SANIAL.

[*To be continued.*]

CRITICAL NOTICES.

PERSIA PAST AND PRESENT. A book of travel and research with more than two hundred illustrations and a map by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages, and some time Adjunct Professor of the English Language and Literature in Columbia University. New York: the Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906.

PERSIA, the land of the Lion and the Sun and familiarly known throughout Asia as Iran, is at the present moment attracting a great deal of public attention owing to the awakening which has taken place among its people and in pursuance of which the Government of the country has been changed from monarchical absolutism to one of a representative character. The Shahanshah of Persia is no longer the absolute monarch as he once was; the Parliamentary form of government has put written checks upon his prerogatives. The Council of Wise Men of Artaxerxes in the unlimited history of ancient Persia naturally comes to mind when we think of the present epoch-making change in Persia. But that is a far-off cry—too distant from the modern times to be regarded as a precedent of the present movement. In the whole history of Persia, both ancient and modern, there cannot be found any other example approaching the present one except the one cited above. The step taken by the late Shah Mozufferuddin to revive the depressed condition of the land which gave birth to Sadi, Hafiz, Firdausi, Omar Khayyam and others of immortal fame, seems now to be the most suitable to the present condition of Persia especially as it is a satisfactory supply to a great demand of the Persian people. Persia is a source of perennial information to archæologists and scholars as it was the scene and site of many ancient kingdoms whose mention can be found in the Bible as well as in Herodotus and other ancient writers. Hence if under a representative form of government, the land be made better communicable and accessible to the world, there cannot be any doubt about the gratefulness which the scholars and antiquarians would feel to those who have wrested the new form of government from the last absolute monarch of Persia.

In 1903 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson went to Persia to study on the spot the archaeological remains that still exist there with regard to Zoroaster and the ancient faith of Magi. Passing through Moscow, Tiflis and Trans-Caucasia, he reached Julfa on the Persian frontier. From this place really commenced his journey to Northern Persia. While staying at Tiflis, he gathered some additional information regarding the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers, a people whose reference can be found in Zoroastrian literature as well as in the books on the religion of Ancient Persia. These Devil-worshippers are chiefly to be found in the Caucasus, Armenia and Kurdistan, although they are scattered over a considerably wider territory, their head-quarters being in the province of Mosul and Mesopotamia. Owing to persecutions which they have suffered throughout their history, their number is not large ; nevertheless they are said to number twelve thousand in the region of the Caucasus alone, and there are at least several hundred Yezidis living in the immediate vicinity of Tiflis. They do not speak of themselves ordinarily as Yezidis, but employ the names of their respective tribes or adopt by preference the term Dasni, a tribal designation in the neighbourhood of Mosul, close to the site of ancient Nineveh, which was one of the original homes of the religion. Various explanations have been proposed for the name *Yezidi* ; among them one associates it with *yazdan*, the Persian word for God, as the Yezidis undeniably believe in a God, although they do not ordinarily speak of him. A second suggestion is to connect it with the town of Yezd. A third seeks to derive the name from Yezid, the detested Mahomedan Caliph who slew Hossein, the grandson of the Prophet at the field of Kerbala, for Yezid is fabled to have been a champion of their faith. But none of these suggestions seem very satisfactory to the author. According to the belief of the Yezidis, God, the creator of earth and heaven, first made from his own essence six other divinities, the sun, the moon, and the principal stars and these joined with him in creating the angels. The devil who was God's creation, rebelled against his Lord and was cast into hell. He afterwards repented for his sin, did penance for seven thousand years and shed tears of contrition which fill seven

vessels that will be used at the Day of Judgment to quench the fires of the seven hells. God in his mercy pardoned the recreant, restored him to heavenly rank, made him one with himself and forbade the angels to look with scorn upon their reinstated brother. Inasmuch as God's grace thus forgave and exalted even Satan himself, man should not look with contempt upon this so-called representative of evil. On this account the Yezidis never allow the name of Satan to pass their lips, avoiding even a syllable that suggests the word and shrinking with horror from any mention of the devil by others. They venerate his sacred majesty under the name of Malik Taus, "King Peacock" a title which they apply to the holy standard (*sanjak*) or symbol of their religion, which is a peacock conventionalised in their art so as almost to resemble a cock. Malik Taus revealed himself in the form of a handsome youth with a peacock's tail when he appeared in a faith before Sheik Aadi, the prophet of the faith. The reverence shown by the Yezidis to the power of evil may have some similarity in character to the propitiatory sacrifice offered in ancient times to the divinity below the earth by Amestris, wife of Xerxes, according to Herodotus and other authorities. It seems possible also that the *daeva-yasna*, or devil worshippers, anathematised in the Avesta may have entertained kindred ideas about venerating the realm of darkness, and that the Yezidis and their strange beliefs preserve traces of the devil worship in the Mazandran which Zoroaster so bitterly denounced. In many respects the Yezidi doctrines have been influenced by Manichæism and its doctrines of purity, by Nestorian Christianity and especially by Mahomedanism. With each of these religions the Yezidis have come into contact. They recognise Mahomed as a prophet of equal rank with Abraham and the patriarchs, and they believe that Christ was an angel in human form. They have a book of divine revelation, which they call Al-Yalvah, and they name as its great expounder their sainted head Sheikh Aadi who lived about A.D. 1200.

From Tiflis, the author reached the ancient town of Erivan and caught his first view of Mount Ararat. Erivan is the capital of Russian Armenia and has a population of 30,000 souls.

From this place he went to Julfa on the Persian border. Chapter IV is devoted mainly to an outline of Persia's history, ancient and modern, to make the reader familiar with what has been stated in the following chapters. From Julfa he proceeded to Tabriz, the residence of the Crown Prince or *valiaka*, Mohammad Ali Mirza now Mohammad Ali Shah. This place has got an additional interest for the students of Persian history, as here has sprung up a new religious movement eclectic in character and now known as Babism. Already the new cult has assumed such proportions as to menace the universal supremacy of Mahomedanism in Iran and even to attract attention and some followers in the Occident. On July 9, 1850, the Persian Reformer, Bab, whose real name was Mirza Ali Mohammad, was executed at the public square of Tabriz. He was born at Shiraz about the year 1820 and was early trained for commercial life, but a pilgrimage to Kerbala and Najaf and afterwards to Mecca, awakened in his heart the religious enthusiasm which made him devote his life henceforth to developing the tenets he held. Upon his return to his native city, about 1844, he assumed the title of *bab* or "gate" leading to spiritual life. His religious views were somewhat eclectic; his doctrines leaned towards a mystic pantheism with elements of agnosticism and were of a highly moral order and so liberal as to include steps towards the emancipation of woman. In the eyes of the strict Mahomedan, however, the doctrines upheld by the Bab were rank heresy. Nevertheless, they spread rapidly and awakened such intense sympathy among those who were dissatisfied with the *regime* maintained by the Persian Mollahs on the one hand, and raised such bitter opposition on the other, among those who were pronouncedly conservative, that they led finally to bloody conflicts which resulted in the imprisonment of the Bab. He was ultimately taken to Tabriz and was shot dead. It has still many followers despite the persecution to which the sect has been subjected. Babism now is not confined to Persia, but has adherents in Mesopotamia, Syria, India and even in America.

Though Tabriz or the province Azerbaijan, is historically connected with Zoroaster's name, yet the author found little there for his researches in that respect. Winter prevented him from

ascending Mounts Sahand and Savalan, the former of which may be identical with Asnavand of the Avesta and the latter with the "Mount of the two Holy Communicants" in the Avesta where Zoroaster communed with Ormazd. Chapter VIII is given to the life and career of Zoroaster. From Tabriz the author went to Lake Urumiah, where he examined some Sasanian bas-reliefs. As Urumiah is supposed to be the early home of Zoroaster, he took considerable pains to find some clue to justify the general supposition. Here he found a small colony of Nestorian Christians. They are not of Persian blood, but originally Syrians or, rather, Assyrians, a term which they themselves prefer, or Chaldeans as the French call them. They are descendants of the ancient followers of the Christian Bishop Nestorius who was ex-communicated in the fifth century for holding unorthodox views concerning the Divinity of Christ, not regarding him as the God-man, but separating his human personality from his divine nature. The adherents of Nestorius spread first into Persia, then far and wide through Asia carrying their sectarian doctrines with them. From Urumiah the author proceeded to Hamadan, ancient Ecbatana, which was once the home of kings. The modern city does not contain any trace of that solemn grandeur which is still to be found in the ruins at Persepolis and Pasargadae. He carefully examined all that can yield to him information on its ancient history. The Behistan rock inscriptions which record in rock the deeds of the Persian monarchs Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, covering a period of two centuries (B.C. 541-340) were carefully read by him. Chapter XIII and XIV are given to the narrative of these cuneiform records. Thence he went to Kermanshah and the beautiful villa of Taki-i-Bostan in its neighbourhood. Commercially the city of Kermanshah is favourably situated as it lies on the main caravan route between Persia and Mesopotamia, being nearly equi-distant from Teheran and Baghdad. The town enjoys the advantage of a busy trade. From Kermanshah he again retraced his steps towards Hamadan by way of Kangavar, a town of great antiquity, which contains the great ruined temple of the Persian Diana. From Hamadan he proceeded to Ispahan, the former capital of Persia under Shah Abbas the

Great. For two centuries, from the sixteenth to the eigtheenth century, Ispahan ranked as the metropolis of Persia. Hence to the traveller the city offers more objects of interest than any other city of Iran. It is true that the city has lost much of the splendour that distinguished it three hundred years ago as the capital of Shah Abbas the Great, whose lavish hospitality to the foreigners that visited his court is described by the early European travellers Tavernier, Chardin, Sanson, Fryer and Kaempfer. It is equally true that the city never fully recovered from the blow that it suffered in the eighteenth century from the Afghan invasion which lost for it its prestige as capital and resulted in the transfer of the imperial seat to Teheran. Nevertheless, enough of the old lustre remains to make Ispahan a Persian Delhi and a worthy rival to its modern successor on the Caspian littoral.

The heart of the city and central point of interest is the magnificent *Maidan-i-Shah* (Imperial Square), which is mentioned even in the *Shah Namah* and is one of the most imposing places of the world. Its length from north to south is more than a quarter of a mile, and its breadth from east to west is nearly an eighth of a mile. It is as level as a parade-ground and as we canter over its smooth surface we are reminded of the days, three hundred years ago, when the ruler of the capital used to have exhibitions of the traditional horsemanship of the Persians. A prize, sometimes a golden goblet, was set on the top of a pole in the midst of the vast arena and shot at as the marksmen galloped by; or sides were taken by the princes and nobles in the ancient game of polo, *gui-u-chugan*, and a large marble goal post is still standing at each end of the *maidan* to mark the terminus towards which they drove the ball that, in the words of Omar Khayyam,

No question makes of Ayes and Noes
But here and there as strikes the Player goes.

But polo is no longer played here ; only occasional parades and processions are held, and the caravans wend their slow way across it to unload their burden in the bazar. The four sides of the *Maidan* are bordered by low galleried buildings, the uniform outline of whose roofs is broken at various points by stately

edifices that have real architectural merit. All these have been fully and excellently described by various writers from Tavernier and Chardin to Curzon and Browne.

From Ispahan, the author went south to Meshed-i-Murghab, the nearest halting-place to the Tomb of Cyrus and the scenes of the past glory of the Achæminians. Chapters XIX and XX are devoted to the descriptions of Pasargadæ, the royal seat of Cyrus and Cambyses and those of Persepolis, the ancient metropolis of Darius and his successors on the Achaemenian throne. The tomb of Cyrus the Great and the platform overlooking Pasargadæ are still remaining to testify to the greatness of ancient Persia. The author most religiously examined all these ruins, the result of which has been recorded by him in the two chapters of his book. From Persepolis the author went to Shiraz, the home of the Persian poets.

Although the city is the capital of the historic province of Fars and by right of inheritance, the successor to the glory of Persepolis, the claim which Shiraz can make to eminence by reason of antiquity is not comparable with that of either Hamadan or Rei in Media of old. The general location of the city, it is true, is probably an ancient one, as shown by the vestiges of Achæmenian and Sasanian ruins in its vicinity, and Iranian legend and Mahomedan fable are even ready to ascribe the founding of the city to a son of Tahumars or to a great-grandson of Noah, but the more sober Moslem authors say that Shiraz was founded or rebuilt by Mohammad ibn Yusuf Takali after the rise of Islam in the seventh century A. D. Shiraz owes most of its architectural beauty to-day to Karim Khan (1751-1779), who governed it as regent under the Safavid dynasty in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Many of the effects of his refining influence were nullified by the eunuch ruler, Agha Mohammad Khan, who razed its stone ramparts to the ground, replaced them by mud walls and reduced the city to a rank unworthy of its traditional prestige. But the true renown of Shiraz rests not upon the beauties of nature, but upon the fame of her poets and the distinguished men she has given to Iran. Hafiz, one of the world's greatest lyrists, and Saadi, Persia's great moralist and poet, were born

and bred at Shiraz. Hafiz, whose birth occurred sometime in the first half of the fourteenth century, is known almost as well by name at least in the West as he is in the East, where every Persian is familiar with his odes, which have made Shiraz a synonym for poetic inspiration. The beauty of his language, the charm of his style, the rhythmic flow of his sweet verses, and the passionate outpouring of his soul, whether it be in the lyrical expression of his own love or in the mystic ecstasy of a spiritual devotion veiled under the guise of material images, entitle Hafiz to rank even in the Occident as a poet's poet and to hold a conspicuous place in the best literature of the world. His youth may have been Anacreontic, but he must have been a faithful student as he won by his memory and learning the title *Hafiz*, "mindful," a distinction bestowed only upon those who knew the entire *Koran* and its interpretation by heart, and he received also an appointment as instructor to the family of the ruling House of Muzaffar as well as a position in the royal Madrassah, which was founded expressly for him. Even a prince of India, Mahmud Shah Bahmani of the Deccan, invited him to his court as a permanent guest. Hafiz accepted the invitation and started on the journey, but proved unequal to facing the dangers of a journey by sea and abandoned his plan, excusing himself by writing a handsome panegyric of his would-be patron and delicately urging his preference for a life amid the enchantments of his birthplace.

The sepulchre of the poet lies about two miles north-east of the city. The area in which the tomb of Hafiz stands is shaded by poplars, cypresses and maples, and beneath their shadows a small reservoir is seen. The tomb stands in the middle of the garden and is surrounded by a number of graves, since burial near the poet's dust is now a spécial privilege. The place is well kept up. A handsome oblong block of marble covers the grave and takes the place of the original slab which Karim Khan is said to have placed in the Jahan Namah Garden when he replaced the stone by the present sarcophagus. The present Governor of Shiraz has taken pains to have the sepulchre protected by a large iron grating which is more imposing than the

old metal cage that formerly enclosed it, and the scroll-work and design show artistic taste. The stanchions and corner posts, however, are iron telegraph poles, received from the Indo-European Telegraph Company, and the Shirazis seemed to be almost as proud of these and of the little metal flags that decorate the top as of the inscribed slab over the poet's dust. The tomb of Saadi lies about a mile farther northward in a slight hollow of the plain and is called the Saadiah. Like the tomb of Hafiz, it is in an enclosed garden, and a grove of poplars, cypresses, fragrant shrubs and rose bushes, surrounds the building which contains the remains of Persia's great moralist and poet. It is a fitting resting-place for one who gave the titles of "Rose Garden" and "Garden of Perfume" to his two chief works. From Shiraz the author went to Yezd, an ancient stronghold of Zoroastrian faith.

Yezd is a city of considerable antiquity. According to legend, it was used by Alexander the Great as a place of confinement for his prisoners of war. During the early years of Mahomedan rule, Yezd became a place of refuge and stronghold for the Zoroastrian Gabars, probably because of its remote situation in the desert. Situated amid a sea of sand which threatens to engulf it, Yezd is a symbolic home for the isolated band of Zoroastrians that still survives the surging waves of Islam that swept over Persia with the Mahomedan conquest twelve hundred years ago. Although exposed to persecution and often in danger from storms of fanaticism, this isolated religious community encouraged by the buoyant hope characteristic of its faith, has been able to keep the sacred flame of Ormazd alive and to preserve the ancient doctrines and religious rites of its creed. When the Arab hosts unfurled the green banner with the crescent and swept over the land of Iran with the cry of Allah-o-Akber, shout of Mohammad, proclamation of Koran, fire, sword, slaughter, enforced conversion or compulsory banishment, a mighty change came over Persia. The battle-fields of Khadisia and Nihavand decided not Iran's fate alone, but Iran's faith. Ahura Mazda, Zarathushtra and the Avesta ceased almost to be known, the temple conserved to fire became a sacrifice to its own flame, and the gasp of the dying

Magian's voice was drowned by the call of the Muezzin to prayer on the top of the minaretted mosque. In a way Moslem creed was easy of acceptance for Persia, since Mohammad himself had adopted elements from Zoroastrianism to unite with Jewish and Christian tenets in making his religion. The Persian, therefore, under show of reason, or exercise of force, could be led to exchange Ormazd for Allah, to acknowledge Mohammad, instead of Zoroaster, as the true prophet of later days, and to accept the Koran as the inspired word of God that supplanted the Avesta. The conqueror's sword, inscribed with holy texts in arabesques, contributed its share, no doubt to making all this possible, but many a Gabar stubbornly refused to give up his belief, and consequently sealed his faith with his blood. The few that sought religions liberty by accepting exile in India, became the ancestors of the modern Parsis of Bombay : but the rest of the scanty handful that escaped the perils of the Mahomedan conquest found a desert home at Yezd and in the remote city of Kerman, not to mention the straggling few that are found elsewhere in Persia, to prove the exception to the now universal rule of Islam in Iran.

Chapters XXIII and XXIV are devoted to the description of the social life of the Zoroastrians at Yezd. From Yezd, the author went to Teheran, the present capital of Persia, visiting on the way Kashan, the birth-place of the great editor of the living Persian paper, *Habekh Matin*, which is published weekly at Calcutta. From Kashan, Kum was reached. This is a sacred place containing the sanctuary of Fatima, sister of Imam Riza, the eighth Imam or Caliph. Kings have chosen the city as a final resting place for their bones, and the great Kajjar Monarchs Fath Ali Shah, is among the Persian Monarchs buried here. Burial near Fatima's shrine is, in fact, almost equivalent to a passport for heaven, although Kum cannot quite rival Karbala and Meshad in this respect. A year ago when through misgovernment, the people were greatly exasperated, their leaders, the Mollahs, retired in a body to this place to compell the Shah to change the form of Government. This had a very good effect, as it eventually brought about a change in the Ministry, as well as the promulgation of the National Assembly of Persia.

In Chapter xxvi, Teheran is described. The Zoroastrians of Teheran, are, taken as a whole, in better circumstances than those in any other city of Persia, because of the more liberal conditions that prevail in general at the capital. One of the richest bankers of Teheran is a Zoroastrian. From Teheran, the author visited the ruins of Rei, the ancient Ragha, now noted for the shrine of Shah Abdul Azim which is visited annually by thousands of pilgrims and within whose precincts the Shah Nasiruddin was assassinated by Mirza Reza in 1896. This place is connected with Teheran by railway. From Teheran he went to the Caspian Sea through Kazvin and Mazandran to continue his journey to Central Asia, which will form the subject of other volume supplemented by a historic account of Susa and of Eastern Persia.

As the author's travel in Persia is chiefly meant for collecting information on Zoroaster and his religion, his book naturally contains a vast amount of information on the ancient religion of Persia. His researches are very scrutinising and throw a flood of new light on the ancient history of Persia. The illustrations are particularly informing on the points discussed in the book, and their number shows that the traveller took considerable pains to copy them from the originals. The way in which the book is compiled is very creditable to the author; it is as much intended for the general reader as for the scholar and antiquarian. In many respects, it is an excellent guide to future travellers. If under her new *régime*, Persia be able to possess a network of railways and other means of communication such as roads, canals, etc., it is sure to be visited by a large number of foreign travellers.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Sabda-Kalpadruma (published by the *Basumatī* Press).

The proprietor of the *Basumatī* Press has rendered a distinct service by publishing a cheap reprint of the late Rājā Rādhā Kānta Dev's *magnum opus*, and thereby placing it within the reach of litterateurs. In the history of the literature of every country a period of patronage precedes a period of free and fair competition. Just as protection is necessary for the up-building of a country's industries so patronage is necessary for the development of a people's literature. The reading public grow slowly,—and then literature conforms to the taste of those who pay for it. In England the period of patronage came to an end with Johnson's letter declining to dedicate his dictionary to Chesterfield. The general plan of the book was formed in 1747. It was too great a venture for any one bookseller, and a combination undertook to finance it. Johnson was asked to address the plan to Lord Chesterfield, then Secretary of State, and considered the chief patron of letters in his day. Chesterfield replied graciously, and the work was begun. Johnson estimated that the work would be completed in three years. But it took him eight years to complete it. During the protracted period of his struggle Johnson had heard nothing of his patron—Chesterfield. When, however, the work was approaching completion Chesterfield wished for the honour of the dedication. He tried to propitiate the author by writing two articles in *The World*, praising the dictionary and the writer with delicate flattery. Chesterfield's notice was so valuable that a man of less independent character would have been glad to receive it even then, but Johnson acknowledged it in a letter ranking among the finest things in the English literature as a masterpiece of independence, of dignity, and of restrained but tremendous invective. This letter was, as Carlyle says, "the far-famed blast of doom, proclaiming into the ear of Lord Chesterfield, and through him to the listening world, that patronage should be no more." Thus ended the period of patronage—a period which had produced many works of lasting interest in English literature.

In the case of Bengalee' literature that period has but recently been over ; and there are people who entertain pleasant memories of the gracious patrons, of 'Bengalee' literature—of Rājā Sir Rādhā Kānta, Mahārājā Mahātāb Chānd, Kumārs Iswar Chandra and Pratāp Chandra, Babu Kāli Prasānna Sinha and many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*. The high fame and celebrity of Rādhā Kānta rest upon his compilation and publication of the voluminous Sanskrit encyclopædic lexicon—the *Sabda-Kalpadruma* to which work he devoted nearly forty years of his life and a considerable portion of his fortune. The following account of the inception and growth of the work given in a short sketch of his life (published in 1859) may prove interesting :—

" In his youthful days, when he studied Sanscrit, he attended the recitation of the *Puranas* and other *Shastras*, by learned Panditas at his house, and used to note down difficult words with their meanings in his memorandum book ; subsequently he collected them with vocables from the principal *Koshas* (Sanskrit dictionaries in metrical forms), and arranged them in an alphabetical order for his private use : shortly after, as they formed ample materials for a lexicon, he was induced at the desire of some of his friends to publish it, as the want of it was most severely felt by all Sanscrit students ; he accordingly set himself to the task ; but he contemplated to make it at once a Worterbuch, a Book of Synonyms, a Cyclopædia, and an Index to all the departments of Sanscrit Literature and Science.

" This was indeed an Herculean labour, requiring a Job-like patience, extensive erudition, and immense outlay. He was not, however, appalled ; he was resolved, and on he went with his work, toiling from day to day, procuring copies or transcripts of Sanscrit manuscripts poring upon the contents of his rich library, and discussing knotty points with the Panditas who often frequented his house, or attended his *sabha* : he established a press at his own house, and caused a set of types to be prepared which have since passed under the designation of Raja's types. The first volume appeared in 1822, and as his studies increased and researches extended, the subsequent volumes were more and more enriched. The seventh or last volume

was published in 1852, and the Appendix, which constitutes a separate volume, in 1858. As each volume issued from the press, he took pleasure in distributing it gratis among those who expressed a desire to make use of it. He has lived long enough to reap the reward of his toil, in fiding his work become the theme of universal admiration ; it has been eulogized in philological journals in unmeasured terms, and is eagerly sought after by the Panditas of India and the *savants* of Europe and America. The principal societies of Europe and America have been eager to enrol the name of its author in the list of their Honorary Members, and Princes have taken delight in honouring him with the most distinguished marks of their approbation."

Such is the great work which has now become available at a very cheap price. And we are sure its publication in this popular form will have the desired effect on Bengalee literature which is daily growing in volume and vigour.

Benu-o-Bina (the Lute and the Lyre) by Satyendra Nath Dutt :

We owe the young author an apology for delay in noticing his book. He has approached the reading public with a volume of lyrics—a department of literature which has grown almost unmanageable. The ordinary reader now fights shy of a volume of lyrics ; and only the most gifted of lyric poets have a chance of being heard. Though containing a promise of lovely productions the lyrics contained in this volume are not striking—nor are they original. "A great writer," said Taine, "is a man who, having passions, knows his dictionary and grammar." This holds good even to-day ; the dictionary and the grammar still play a prominent part in making poetry palatable. But our taste has been transformed. With the prospect the perspective has changed. We must take this displacement into account. Nowadays we demand new ideas and bare sentiments ; we do not care much for the clothing ; we want the thing. We do not trouble ourselves much about adornment, but about truth. We demand ideas more than arrangement of ideas. And the poems of Walt Whitman could be appreciated only in a society where this transformation of taste has taken place.

Unfortunately it is an absence of dominant ideas that strikes one as one reads the poems of this young poet. They are readable—but never admirable. They do not strike one as brilliant or original. But we must admit they stand a little above the average level of poems that flood the market, annoy the critic and exasperate the reader. And we may not be disappointed in hoping that in the near future we shall have better things from the author.

Sondr Bangla (Golden Bengal) by Nikhil Nath Roy (published by Gooroodas Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

The name of this book need not frighten us—even now when Bengal has become prolific in mare's nests. It is a work of history—a narrative of the ruin of Bengal's industries brought about by the unequal competition of foreign capital. English historians and English travellers have left us accounts of the steps taken by Englishmen to profit by the ruin of Bengal's trade with foreign countries. In some cases they killed the goose that used to lay golden eggs in the hope of getting a plathora of eggs at once,—in others Englishmen killed Indian industries to give English industries a start. The dream of a vast Asiatic Empire had not then become an accomplished fact, and England sought to profit by her temporary connection with India. The writer has quoted Bolts to show how oppression was resorted to by English merchants: "With every species of monopoly every kind of oppression to manufacturers, of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased; in so much that weavers, for daring to sell their goods, and *dallals* and *pykars*, &c., having contributed to or connived at such sales, have, by the Company's agents, been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged, and deprived, in the most ignominious manner, of what they esteem most valuable, their castes. Weavers also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of *Mutchulcabs*, have had their goods seized, and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called *Nagaads*, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known

of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

He has quoted Mill to show how Paisly and Manchester rose on the ruins of Bengal: "The cotton and silk goods of India up to the period (1813 A. D.) could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed the mills of Paisly and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture. Had India been independent she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from apnihilatión. This act of self-defence was not permitted her. She was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arms of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competition with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

He could have quoted Birdwood to show how cotton piece-goods trade began to flourish in England: "Cotton manufacture did not obtain a real footing in Europe until last century (the 18th.) At a date before history the art was carried from India to Assyria and Egypt; but it was not until the thirteenth century that the cotton plant was introduced into Southern Europe where its wool was at first used to make paper. The manufacture of it into cloth in imitation of the fabrics of Egypt and India was first attempted by the Italian States in the thirteenth century; from which it was carried into the low countries, and thence passed over to England in the seventeenth century. In 1641 'Manchester cottons,' made up in imitation of Indian cottons, were still made of wool. But in vain did Manchester attempt to compete on fair free-trade principles with the printed calicoes of India; and gradually Indian chintzes became so generally worn in England, to the detriment of the woollen and

flaxen manufactures of the country, as to excite popular feeling against them; and the Government, yielding to the clamour, passed the law, in 1721, which disgraced the statute book for a generation, prohibiting the wear of all printed calicoes whatever. It was modified in 1736 so far that calicoes were allowed to be worn, 'provided the warp thereof was entirely of linen yarn.' Previous to this, in 1700, a law had been passed by which all wrought silks, mixed stuffs, and figured calicoes 'the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies, were forbidden to be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain.'

The narrative is well written—and a rich store-house of information. But there is a point where the historian finishes his work and the labours of the economist begin. Babu Nikhil Nath has carried the narrative to that point. Now it is for the economist to begin his work—to realise the situation, and recommend the course to be adopted by Indians. The old handi-crafts of India have been destroyed. And the time for handi-crafts is, perhaps, gone. We must have manufacture now—the cottage must make room for the factory,—trade must expand into commerce—and guilds must develop into corporations.

The new state of affairs has brought with it new and intricate problems. The centralisation of capital, the question of over-production, the advisability of adopting free-trade principles—these have to be considered. With the establishment of mills and factories other questions will crop up—the most important being the question of the unemployed. Mr. Carol D. Wright calculated that whilst during the past forty years hours have been reduced 20 per cent., production, owing to the improvement of machinery and the high pressure at which work is carried on is 500 per cent. greater; that is to say, one man aided by machinery will now do the work of 500 men ten years ago. The first effect of labour-saving contrivances would be that to make the same quantity of manufactures less workmen would be required; wages will fall, and some of the employed shall have ultimately to be discharged. As we go on improving we recruit the ranks of the enforced idlers. These are problems new to India. India cries aloud for the advent of the economist who will solve them. Will she cry in vain?

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